DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 054 996	SO 001 817
TITLE	An Evaluation of a Project for the Analysis, Development, Implementation, and Diffusion of the New Social Studies Curricula.
INSTITUTION	Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo. Center for Educational Field Studies.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	70
NOTE	137p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58
DESCRIPTORS	Adoption (Ideas); *Curriculum Evaluation; *Diffusion; Elementary Grades; Experiment Stations; *Information Dissemination; Inservice Teacher Education; Models; Program Evaluation; Projects; *Research and Instruction Units; School Districts; Secondary Grades; *Social Studies
IDENTIFIERS	Curriculum Implementation; *Social Studies Implementation Project

ABSTRACT

In February 1968, the Social Studies Implementation Project began as a cooperative venture involving twenty-three school districts in metropolitan St. Louis. The overall objective of the project was to operate a model which was designed to overcome the problems of curriculum implementation. Operationally, the project had several objectives: 1) to create four field stations; 2) to carry out a three-year four-stage implementation process in each field station: analysis and selection of curricula; strategy and lesson development requiring the utilization of new curriculum; field testing new materials in a field station school; and, diffusion of the materials from the field school to radial schools; 3) to produce a group of teachers who have mastered and accepted this implementation process; 4) to alter patterns of school curriculum decision making by placing project personnel in key role or encouraging adoption; and, 5) disseminate the curricula. They developed a six-phase evaluation of the model akin to a field study including both formative and summative evaluation. The sources of data were: field observer notes, progress reports, data from participants, third-party reports from studies of the project by graduate students, and interviews of participant teachers. Three formal data collection instruments were used: a measure of role strain, semantic differential, and a measure of decision making criteria. The only positive outcomes were: acceptance of the model, the development of curriculum analysis skills, and the dissemination of the materials. (Author/SBE)

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an evaluation of:

A Project for the Analysis, Development, Implementation, and Diffusion of the New Social Studies Curricula

SO 001 817

Project no. 25-68-5256-2 under TITLE III,
E.S.E.A. (P.L. 89-10)

Prepared and submitted by:
Center for Educational Field Studies
Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri
1970

04-2-0019

ED054996

EVALUATION OF
SOCIAL STUDIES
CURRICULUM IMPLEMENTATION PROJECT

Center for Educational Field Studies

Washington University

St. Louis

1970

Foreword

During the period 1966-1970 metropolitan St. Louis was the site of a unique project designed to foster the rational implementation of new social studies curricula. This project involved many local school districts, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (Titles III and IV), the Educational Council for Responsible Citizenship, and the Metropolitan St. Louis Social Studies Center located at Washington University.

The following report was prepared by the Center for Educational Field Studies at Washington University. The Center has previously provided formative evaluation data for the Project staff. The present report is summative; it is primarily intended for those who wish to judge the overall effectiveness of the Project and for those who wish to learn about the characteristics, the successes, and the failures of curriculum implementation.

Because we have been particularly concerned with identifying and analyzing the Project's weaknesses, in order that others might learn from them, a disproportionate amount of space in the accompanying report is devoted to negative aspects of the Project. We hope no one is misled by this emphasis, for we think the Project has enormous promise. The Project was significant on many counts. First, during the pre-operational planning phase and throughout the Project's life, key individuals have been unusually rational in their approach to the Project. From the very beginning there were intensive efforts to clearly specify the problems that were to be solved, to generate and to consider several solutions, and to review the consequences of the solutions which were adopted. The fact that the Project devoted an exceptionally high proportion of its limited resources to evaluation is one measure of the Project's interest in rationality; the eagerness of participants to receive evaluative data, and to act upon them, is another. In an era when rationality is too often discounted, and in the face of we educators' habit of preaching but not practicing rationality, it is reassuring to observe its workings and to acknowledge its beneficent outcomes. (The Project also demonstrated the limits of rationality--the unforeseen event, the lack of essential information, and the importance of intuition, perseverance, enthusiasm, and happy circumstance.) Second, the Project demonstrated that it is possible, albeit difficult, to bring together and to coordinate the resources of several local school districts, state and national education agencies, and a major university; such coordinated efforts will be increasingly important as educators attempt to grapple with the massive problems confronting today's schools. Third, and most important, the Project was largely successful in attaining its goals. In essence, these goals were to drastically shorten the usually lengthy period of time required for innovative materials to reach large numbers of classrooms, to ensure that the new materials were nonetheless taught as intended, and to create a corps of teachers capable of directing continued implementation activities upon cessation of the Project. These goals are highly germane to the future viability of American schools. Hopefully this report will encourage and facilitate future efforts to achieve such goals.

Many people helped prepare this report. Ruth Wessler and Patricia Keith directed the evaluation during 1968-69 and 1969-70, respectively. F. J. Brown, William Gussner, Newton Siegal, and Albert Wolfington helped with data collection and made preliminary data analyses. Thomas Johnson provided help in processing the data reported in Chapter V. Jimmy Applegate, John Good, Albert Pooler, Elliot Seif, Ted Smorodin, and Jean Young studied the Project from various perspectives, and generously shared their reports with us. We imposed a great deal upon the central staff and the field station personnel who were involved in the Project. We cannot acknowledge these people individually, but we can report that they were unfailingly cooperative in letting us observe their activities and in answering our questions.

Responsibility for the content of this report rests with me.

David L. Colton, Director
Center for Educational Field Studies
Washington University
November, 1970

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Chapter I

THE SOCIAL STUDIES IMPLEMENTATION PROJECT
OVERVIEW AND BACKGROUND

The Social Studies Implementation Project is a cooperative venture involving twenty-three school districts in metropolitan St. Louis, the Metropolitan Social Studies Center at Washington University, the Central Midwestern Regional Educational Laboratory, Inc. (CEMREL), the United States Office of Education, and the Missouri State Department of Education. Since 1964 these agencies have created and operated a project designed to train teachers in effective techniques of curriculum implementation in the social studies, and to disseminate new social studies curricula in the St. Louis metropolitan area.

Design

The design of the Implementation Project was developed during the period 1964-66, when the St. Louis Educational Council for Responsible Citizenship and Washington University, supported in part by a grant from the U. S. Office of Education, engaged in an intensive study of the problems of implementing new social studies curricula in the metropolitan area. Despite the existence of a multitude of social studies curriculum development projects around the country, and despite educators' recognition of the need for social studies curriculum reform, the prospects for change in social studies classes seemed bleak. Several factors appeared to limit the prospects for rapid or wide-scale adoption of new social studies curricula. First, the national curriculum projects seldom included any plans or any funds for installing the new curricula in the nation's schools. Second, many of the national curriculum projects were producing supplemental instructional materials rather than whole new courses; this created the danger that social studies courses would lose whatever intelectual coherence and integrity that they had, and become mere collections of interesting materials. A third reason for pessimism about the adoption of new social studies curricula stemmed from the fact that the curriculum projects were not producing two vital types of information that would be needed by local curriculum decision-makers: (1) the projects were not producing clear and detailed descriptions of curriculum goals, nor of the rationale underlying the choice of goals; and (2) projects were not providing evaluation data which would allow local decision-makers to determine whether the new materials were effective in accomplishing their goals. In addition to the problems inherent in the curriculum projects, there were problems at the local level among the prospective adopters of new curricula. Local school curriculum revisions usually were the responsibility of teacher committees which were charged with the task of producing syllabi which included bibliographies, textbook recommendations, and lists of suggested activities. While such committees often had the best intentions in the world, and sometimes accomplished something worthwhile, they hadn't the time, the resources, or the training to ensure that changes were more than superficial. Another problem at the local level was the lack of experts who could provide systematic and long-term help to local curriculum committees. University consultants were few in number, and their services were usually monopolized by the more affluent schools. Even when a district employed its own curriculum specialists, they were often burdened by administrative chores or out of touch with the most recent developments in their field. Teachers, on their own, could hardly be expected to grasp the initiative in curriculum reform; their time was too limited, their access to developments around the nation was too restricted, and their opportunities for systematic collegial work with their peers were virtually nonexistent. Thus there were a multitude of problems which made it seem unlikely that the new curriculum projects in social studies would have much impact upon America's classrooms.[1]

---

[1] The Development of a Model for the Metropolitan St. Louis Social Studies Center, Final Report, Project Z-004 (Office of Education, February, 1967).

In order to overcome these problems, an interschool agency known as a *field station* was proposed. A field station would consist of two representatives from each of 5-7 schools, plus a central staff (see Figure 1). The teachers in the field station were to be given reduced teaching loads so that they could meet regularly with the Project staff to (1) *analyze and select* new social studies curricula, (2) *develop* strategies and lessons which would be required to utilize the new curricula, (3) *try* the new materials on a pilot basis in the "field school", and (4) *diffuse* the materials from the field school in each station to the "radial schools" in each station. This four-phase process would be carried out over a three-year period for any specified grade level (see Figure 2). At the conclusion of the field station implementation cycle, it was anticipated that limited diffusion of new curricula would have occurred, and that the teachers who had participated in the implementation process would be sufficiently trained to establish comparable implementation programs within their own districts.

Figure 1
STRUCTURE OF ONE FIELD STATION

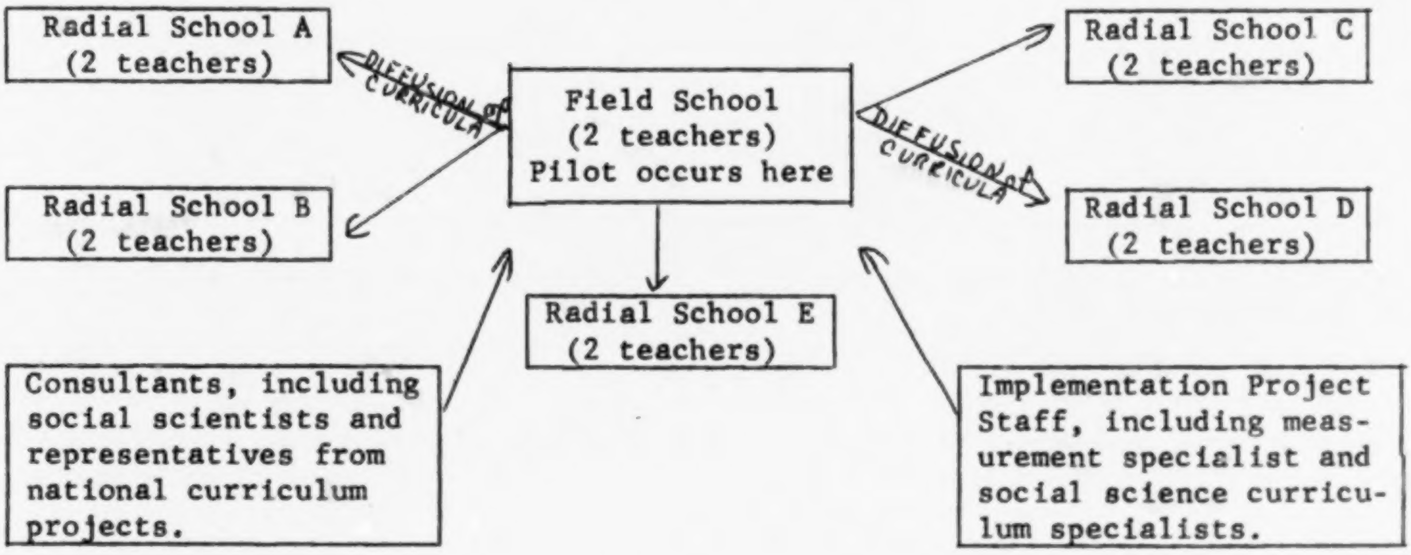

Figure 2
PHASES OF EACH FIELD STATION

Time	Field Station #1	Field Station #2	Field Station #3	Field Station #4
1966-67	Analysis			
Summer 1967	Develop Year I of Curriculum			
1967-68	Pilot Year I of Curriculum	(January 1968) Analysis	(January 1968) Analysis	
Summer 1968	Develop Year II	Develop Year I	Develop Year I	
1968-69	Pilot Year II; Diffuse Year I	Pilot Year I of the Curriculum	Pilot Year I of the Curriculum	(January 1969) Analysis
Summer 1969	Develop Year III	Develop Year II	Develop Year II	Develop Year I
1969-70	Pilot* Year III; Diffuse Year II	Pilot Year II; Diffuse Year I	Pilot Year II; Diffuse Year I	Pilot Year I of the Curriculum
Summer 1970	Develop* Year IV	Develop Year III	Develop Year III	Develop Year II
1970-71	Pilot* Year III; Diffuse Year III	Pilot* Year III; Diffuse Year II	Pilot* Year III; Diffuse Year II	Pilot* Year II; Diffuse Year I

*Scheduled Phase Out of Federal Funds: Field station #1--February, 1970; all others--February, 1971.

Objectives

The overall objective of the Implementation Project was to operate a model which was designed to overcome the problems of curriculum implementation in the area of social studies. Operationally, the Project had several objectives:

1. to create four field stations;
2. to carry out a four-stage implementation process (analysis, development, pilot, and diffusion) in each field station; and
3. through #1 and #2, to (a) produce a group of teachers who have mastered and accepted the particulars of the implementation process, (b) alter established patterns of school curriculum decision making by placing project personnel in key curriculum roles and/or by encouraging adoption of the implementation process by others, and (c) disseminate new social studies curricula in metropolitan St. Louis.

A fourth objective, which provides the justification for this evaluation report, was to assess the effectiveness of the implementation model so that others might have a basis for adopting, modifying, or rejecting it.

Brief History of the Project

One field station was put into operation on a limited basis in September, 1966, with support from cooperating districts, from CEMREL, and from Washington University. In the ensuing months there were repeated efforts to obtain federal support under Title III of ESEA; these efforts finally came to fruition in February, 1968, when the USOE entered into a contract with the Ladue School District, which was acting on behalf of virtually all districts in the St. Louis metropolitan area. Title III funds permitted the continuation of the initial field station, immediate creation of two additional stations, and creation of a fourth station in January, 1969. With the exceptions noted elsewhere in this report, the field stations adhered to the schedule of activities depicted in Figure 2. As this is written (Summer, 1970) the original field station has largely concluded its activities, and the remaining stations are making plans for the Title III phase-out period, which is scheduled to end in January, 1971.

Chapter II

EVALUATION DESIGN AND PROCEDURES

To an extent that is unusual among Title III Projects, the Implementation Project, from its inception, has been seriously concerned with the evaluation process. The nature of this concern, and the manner of its implementation, are described in this section.

Original Expectations about Evaluation

The original prospectus for the Implementation Project included an elaborate rationale and plan for evaluation. Two general types of evaluation were anticipated. Internal evaluation was to be conducted largely by the field station members themselves, with the assistance of a measurement specialist. It was to be oriented to the question: does a specific curriculum achieve what it purports to achieve? External evaluation was to be conducted largely by the Project's central staff, whose task was to examine the Project's effects upon teachers' curriculum analysis skills and attitudes and upon the institutional settings in which curriculum implementation occurred (or did not occur). In connection with the latter problem an elaborate system for the stratification of schools, and for the identification of factors affecting adoption, was proposed; this system was supposed to facilitate extrapolation of Project findings to other schools and school systems.[1]

There were a number of flaws in the original plans for evaluation. Among them were these: (1) The plans were very incomplete. For example, techniques for identifying or measuring changes in teachers were not specified. Linkages among the several phases and elements of the Project, and the implications of these linkages for the overall success of the Project, were ignored. (2) The plan for identifying factors affecting school system innovativeness was sophisticated but quite inappropriate for this Project. For example, the plan assumed that the school district was the adopting unit, whereas the project itself viewed the teacher, the classroom and the school building as the target populations. Worse, the plan concentrated on variables which were quite beyond the control of the Project. (3) The difficulty of finding and obtaining evaluation personnel was drastically underestimated. (4) The original planning, quite naturally, did not anticipate the ferment in the field of evaluation that blossomed in the late 1960's; this ferment had some important implications for the actual conduct of an evaluation.

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[1] Project Proposal (Title III), June, 1967, pp. 76-84.

Revised Schedule for Evaluation

From September, 1966, until January, 1968, the resources available to the Implementation Project were severely limited. Existing resources were concentrated on the development of the initial field station; no resources were available for evaluation. When Title III funds became available in January, 1968, the timing was such that neither a permanent Project Director nor an evaluation staff could be found immediately; again available resources were used for Project operation. By late spring, 1968, three field stations were in operation, but still no evaluation staff had been identified. As a result, no base-line data was collected.

In May, 1968, Washington University's Center for Educational Field Studies (CEFS) proposed to the Title III Board of Directors that the CEFS design and conduct the external evaluation.③ The proposal included a six-phase plan of operation:

1. Familiarization--(6/15/68-10/15-68) In this phase the CEFS evaluation staff was to acquaint itself with the Project's background, rationale, staff, and operations.
2. Formulation of Objectives--(5/15/68-12/1/68) The evaluation staff was to work with the Project staff to identify and agree upon the actual Project objectives.

3. Design and Instrumentation--(10/15/68-12/31/68) In this phase the evaluation staff was to formulate the actual procedures to be used in the collection and analysis of data.
4. Data Collection--(10/15/68-10/15/70)
5. Data Analysis--(Continuous)
6. Reporting--Two types of reporting activities were proposed. First, the evaluation staff would undertake to provide *formative* evaluation, i.e. data which could be used by the Project staff to overcome weaknesses as they became apparent. In addition, the staff agreed to prepare a *summative* evaluation, i.e. a final report which could be used by other agencies interested in adopting the Implementation Project design or procedures.

The proposal as outlined above was approved by the Title III Board of Directors and subsequently was formalized in agreements among Washington University, the Title III Board, and CEMREL (which participated centrally in funding the evaluation).

The above schedule was closely followed by the evaluation staff. During the period from June, 1968, through June, 1970, field observers were employed to describe the activities of the Implementation Project. Late in 1968 a preliminary design for evaluation was formalized. During the period from January, 1969, through May, 1970, the evaluation staff collected questionnaire and interview data from Project participants. Periodic feedback was provided to the Project staff, particularly during 1968-69. This final report, prepared during the summer of 1970, is summative in the sense that it is concerned with the successes and failures of the Project to date.

Revised Evaluation Strategy

Largely because of the flaws cited above, the evaluation staff rejected the evaluation plan outlined in the initial Title III proposal. Instead, the staff adopted a plan more akin to a field study.② Such a strategy seemed more suited to the late inception of the evaluation effort, to the character of the Implementation

Project, to the need for formative as well as summative data, and to the primitive state of evaluation techniques. In essence, the field study technique permits a high degree of eclecticism in terms of data collection and data analysis; it relies heavily upon the ability of the evaluator to perceive accurately what is going on; and it produces a report which is heavily laden with observational reports and descriptive information. Such a strategy has virtues which we hope will become evident in our report. At the same time the field study has its limitations. These include bulk, attributions of causation which may be unfounded, and the intrusion of biases on the part of the evaluator. While these cannot be entirely avoided, we have done our best to minimize them.

Sources of Data

Our principal sources of data were the following:

a. Field observer notes--Starting in late June, 1968, members of the evaluation staff observed the activities of the field stations and the central staff. More than 50 reports of field station activities were collected; these reports included not only reports of what was seen, but also materials utilized in the stations. The evaluation staff was usually present at meetings of the central staff--sometimes in a participant role (to provide feedback) and sometimes in an observer role. Several of these staff meetings, particularly during 1968-69, were recorded and subsequently transcribed.

b. Documentary sources--The Implementation Project generated huge quantities of written material. We made heavy use of the following documents: (1) Project proposal submitted to U.S.O.E. in June, 1967; (2) "progress reports" prepared by the central staff for the Board of Directors and the state education agency; (3) minutes of the Board of Directors; (4) intrastaff memoranda; (5) Project newsletters and publications; (6) evaluation data prepared by Project participants at the request of central Project staff members.

c. Interviews--Our contacts with central Project staff members were frequent, and ranged from highly informal to highly structured. During the spring, 1970, the evaluation staff conducted structured interviews with twenty-three of the thirty-one teachers participating in field stations #1, #2, and #3 at that time. In addition some administrators in field station schools were interviewed.

d. Formal instrumentation--Three formal data collection instruments were used; they were a measure of role strain, a semantic differential, and a measure of decision-making criteria.

e. Third-party papers and reports--Several graduate students at Washington University conducted studies of various phases of the Implementation Project. These students generously shared their reports with us (see Foreword).

Organization of the Report

The Report is organized around the three major objectives described on page 5. Chapter III examines the Project's efforts to establish field stations. Chapter IV analyzes the operation of the four-stage implementation process. Chapter V describes Project outcomes. A concluding chapter includes a summary and recommendations.

Chapter III

CREATION OF THE FIELD STATIONS

The most unique feature of the Implementation Project is the "field station." At the inception of the Project, the field stations were visualized as follows:

> The major task of this Project will be to set up four field stations in local schools. The field stations will be organized by personnel called the Implementation Project staff. Each field station complex will consist of two groups of schools: (a) a single school (field school) where the pilot of a curriculum will take place, and (b) four to six additional schools (radial schools) to which the curriculum will be diffused after it has been piloted in the field school.
>
> ...Each field station will be supported by the following personnel. The Implementation Project staff will provide one person who has had experience in schools and is knowledgeable in both the social sciences and in the issues of social studies curriculum. This person will provide leadership for field station activities. Two master teachers will be selected from each of the schools in the field station. These teachers should be well trained in their disciplines, respected by their colleagues, and interested in curriculum innovation. In addition, there will be one administrative liaison agent (principal, etc.) from each field and radial school to represent his school when key administrative decisions must be made. Finally, social science scholars from adjacent universities and colleges will play significant consultative roles....[1]

This chapter examines the Project's efforts to establish the field stations. We have identified five sets of "inputs" which needed to be located and assembled in order to create the proposed field station structure. They are:

1. Institutional members--the schools or school districts which participated in the Implementation Project through membership in a field station.
2. Individual members--the master teachers and the administrative liaison personnel from each school represented in the field stations.
3. Central staff--the Project Director and the Curriculum Specialists who provided administrative support and leadership for the field stations.

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[1] Project Proposal, 7/67, pp. 36-37.

4. Materials and Services--the curriculum materials, instructional materials, consultant services, and facilities required for the conduct of the implementation process.
5. Financial support--money from local sources, from CEMREL, and from Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Each of these inputs is described and assessed separately in the following pages. In a concluding section we present an overall evaluation of the viability of the field station structure as it was conceived by the Implementation Project.

Institutional Members

Objective

According to the proposal for the Implementation Project, four field stations were to be created. Each was to include five to seven schools to be selected from public and nonpublic schools of the St. Louis metropolitan area. An implicit expectation was that member schools would remain in the field stations for the duration of the Project. From the foregoing we derived the following questions concerning institutional membership in the field stations:

a. Were four field stations created?

b. Were there five to seven members in each field station?

c. Did schools remain in the Project for its duration?

In addition to these objectives, which focus upon the extent of membership in the field stations, the Implementation Project established goals concerning the characteristics sought in member schools. The Project proposal cited four such characteristics: (1) membership was to be open to all; (2) members of each field station were to be clustered geographically so as to minimize travel time for participants; (3) district wealth was not to be a determinant of membership (poorer districts were to have a larger share of membership costs underwritten by the Project); and (4) interest on the part of teachers and administrators was to be high. From the foregoing we derived a fourth question concerning institutional membership in the field stations:

d. Does it appear that membership was open to all, that geographic clustering was achieved, that poorer districts were able to participate, and that member schools were genuinely interested in the Project?

Performance Data

a. Were four field stations created?

Four field stations were created, as projected. Field station #1 operated with financial support from CEMREL, from Washington University and from local school districts during the period September, 1966, through January, 1968. For the next two years primary funding for this station was obtained through Title III. During the period February through June, 1970, local districts again supported most of the costs of field station #1. Field stations #2 and #3 were established at the time Title III funds became available (January, 1968). Title III support is scheduled to continue through January, 1971. Field station #4, also supported by Title III funds, was created in March, 1969; it is scheduled to continue through January, 1971. Two of the field stations (#1 and #3) were organized at the high school level, one (#4) was at the junior high school level, and one (#2) was at the elementary school level.

b. Were there five to seven members in each field station?

As indicated in Table 1, field stations #1 and #3 were consistently within the projected size. Field station #2 included eight members for a time, and field station #4 dropped to four members during 1969-70.

c. Did schools remain in the Project for its duration?

As shown in Table 1, there was a total of twenty-seven members in the Project during its duration. Of these, twenty participated for the duration of the Project, i.e., twenty joined a field station at the time it was created and remained in that station at least through June, 1970. Of the remaining seven members, two dropped out of one field station but joined or continued to participate in another; two joined field stations late but remained in the Project thereafter; and three dropped out of the Project altogether. All three of the "drop-out" decisions appear to have been motivated by dissatisfaction with the curricula used in the Project.

d. Does it appear that membership was open to all, that geographic clustering was achieved, that poorer districts were able to participate, and that member schools were genuinely interested in the Project?

Table 1. PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS

	Fall, 1966[a]	Spring, 1967[a]	Fall, 1967[a]	Spring, 1968	Fall, 1968	Spring, 1969	Fall, 1969	Spring, 197
Field Station #1 (high school)	Lindbergh U City Luth N.[c] Ritenour Hazelwood Parkway Mary Inst.[c]	Lindbergh U City Luth N.[c] Ritenour Hazelwood Parkway ---	Lindbergh U City Luth N.[c] Ritenour Hazelwood Parkway ---	Lindbergh U City Luth N.[c] Ritenour Hazelwood Parkway ---	Lindbergh U City Luth N.[c] Ritenour Hazelwood Parkway Chaminade[c]	Lindbergh U City Luth N.[c] Ritenour Hazelwood Parkway Chaminade[c]	Lindbergh --- Luth N.[c] Ritenour Hazelwood Parkway Chaminade[c]	Lindbergh[b] --- Luth N.[b,c] Ritenour[b] Hazelwood[b] Parkway[b] Chaminade[b,c]
Field Station #2 (elementary)	X	X	X	Brentwood Kinloch Kirkwood Ladue Normandy Rockwood St. Louis ---	Brentwood Kinloch Kirkwood Ladue Normandy Rockwood St. Louis U. City	Brentwood Kinloch Kirkwood Ladue Normandy Rockwood St. Louis U. City	Brentwood Kinloch Kirkwood Ladue Normandy Rockwood --- U. City	Brentwood Kinloch Kirkwood Ladue --- Rockwood --- U. City
Field Station #3 (high school)	X	X	X	Affton St. Louis Han. Pl. Map-RH Valley P. Webs. Gr.	Affton St. Louis Han. Pl. Map-RH Valley P. Webs. Gr.	Affton St. Louis Han. Pl. Map-RH Valley P. Webs. Gr.	Affton St. Louis Han. Pl. Map-RH Valley P. Webs. Gr.	Affton St. Louis Han. Pl. Map-RH Valley P. Webs. Gr.
Field Station #4 (junior High)	X	X	X	X	X	Ferg-Flor Hazelwood Luth.[c] Riv. Gard. St. Char.	Ferg-Flor Hazelwood Luth.[c] Riv. Gard. St. Char.	Ferg-Flor Hazelwood Luth.[c] --- St. Char.

a - Prior to availability of Title III funds.
b - Title III funds no longer available; however, station remained in operation with local support.
c - Non-public school.

We found no evidence that any district which wished to participate in the Project was not allowed to do so. Public and nonpublic schools from the City of St. Louis, St. Louis County, and St. Charles County participated.

Geographical compactness is, of course, a relative term. We note that the first field station was the least compact. All stations undoubtedly could have been more compact than they were, but this probably would have been accomplished at the expense of other membership criteria.

Poorer districts were more likely than other districts to participate in the Project. Eighteen of the twenty-five public school districts in St. Louis County joined the Project. Included among the eighteen were the nine poorest districts (assessed value per pupil, 1967-68) in the County.

"Interest" among participating districts is difficult to measure. Here we simply note that participation by a district entailed some local expense, considerable administrative inconvenience, and some genuine public relations pitfalls (e.g. teachers away from their classes, an apparent loss of local autonomy in the selection of pilot curricula). Most participants appeared to be willing and even eager to overcome these difficulties. Moreover, as we indicated above, few members dropped out of the Project once they had joined it. On the other hand, as we shall demonstrate in subsequent sections, there were a number of cases where school districts appeared reluctant to make full utilization of the resources generated within the Implementation Project.

Assessment

The Implementation Project came remarkably close to accomplishing its objectives in securing institutional membership in the field stations. This success was no small achievement. We observed the labors of the Project staff as it established field station #4 in the spring of 1969; many difficulties had to be overcome, as indicated in the following notes taken in an interview with a member of the central staff:

> The Coordinator indicated that he has contacted six schools seeking their participation in the junior high school field station (#4). Three or four are very interested; two of these are pessimistic about the possibility of making arrangements for substitutes in March, during the middle of the semester.
>
> District A is not coming in. This is a surprise to the Coordinator. He expected them to participate because of the great interest they showed initially. While they were the second to last place visited, they were the first place that the Coordinator saw administrators who were "interested in the project in anything more than a nebulous basis." At this point he is not sure why they did not choose to participate. During the discussion they raised questions about whether the program "taught the right moral attitudes." He answered them in terms of this being a pluralistic society; he feels that perhaps his answer did not satisfy the administrators. Another important factor was the associate superintendent, who was coolest toward the Project; he is to be the new superintendent. This district also has a shortage of social studies teachers returning.
>
> District B was perceived as being happy with things the way they are in their district. No one wants to rock the boat; they don't want angry parents. Administrators talked of things going in cycles and that the new project resembles something done a long time ago.
>
> Three districts are apparently coming in...
>
> District C is pessimistic. In order to participate they would have to replace a master teacher with one who is uncertified. Therefore, the Title III staff is trying to find a qualified person for them.
>
> Monday the Coordinator is going to District D. They are pessimistic until the tax issue is passed. District E is not interested; they are interested in faster curriculum change than is coming about through the Project. District F is interested but is geographically in a bad location.
>
> --Interview, 2/17/69

Balancing such obstacles was an array of circumstances which permitted the Project to attain its objectives for institutional membership. While the evaluation team collected no systematic data on this point, our observations suggested three factors that were important to the Project's success in securing institutional membership. (1) The Project gave promise of meeting a real need of schools. The need for improvement of social science curricula was strongly expressed prior to the formulation of the Project; in fact, it was this expressed need which gave major impetus to the creation of the Project. (2) Advance planning and staff work was conducted. By the time Title III funds became available (January, 1968) the groundwork had already been laid for the creation of field stations #2 and #3. Prospective members for each of these field stations had been identified (using criteria such as location, wealth, interest, and type of school), and preliminary contacts had been made with administrators. Oddly, despite the longer lead-time available for the creation of field station #4 (scheduled for initial operation in January, 1969), this station got off to a very belated start (March). The delay appears to have stemmed from heel-dragging on the part of the Project Director during the preceding months; this heel-dragging was in part attributable to funding uncertainties beyond the control of the Project. (3) Financial support was available. School district costs were primarily for released time for participating teachers, travel and materials. Poorer districts were able to participate at little or no cost to themselves; for other districts the Project assumed a large share of the costs of participation.

A number of dilemmas were associated with the task of securing institutional membership. One was the dilemma of size. There were some pressures to maximize the number of members in each field station. One such pressure was the desire to disseminate curricula; dissemination probably could have been increased by increasing the number of participating schools. Sometimes, as in field station #2, there appear to have been more interested schools than could be accommodated within the projected membership. On the other hand, there were pressures to restrict size. Funds were limited. Coordinators couldn't adequately handle too many members in any station. A second and much more serious dilemma involved the distinction between school interest and teacher interest. As we observed the efforts to create field station #4 it became apparent that the Project staff knew of teachers who were likely to perform well in the Project but who were in schools where administrative interest was doubtful. Conversely, there were cases where schools were interested, but could not assign top-notch teachers to a field station. The ideal, of course, was to ensure that both teachers and districts were interested, but this ideal was impossible to attain in the face of other constraints upon the Project. A third dilemma stemmed from the multiple purposes of the Project. Some participating schools appear to have been interested in the Project because they wanted to gain access to, or familiarity with, particular curricula being used in the Project; such districts often had little interest in the implementation model itself or in the teacher training aspects of the Project. Some other districts appear to have been interested in the implementation model, but not in the particular curricula being utilized. The fact that members had dissimilar objectives was probably inevitable. However, this fact did create tensions within the Project, and it became the source of long hours of debate and discussion concerning the Project's "real" objectives. (The initial design emphasized both objectives.)

Looking backward, it is apparent that the selection of institutional members was a highly significant determinant of Project outcomes. The initial decision to open field station membership to all types of schools was particularly important. This decision satisfied important political constraints and conformed to the egalitarian ethic. However the decision also meant that each field station included schools with widely varying degrees of "readiness" for innovation, with varying types of clienteles, and with varying structural supports for innovation (e.g. availability of money, competence of staff, size of system). During the first three phases of the implementation process--analysis, development, and pilot--it was possible to ignore these differences, i.e. to treat all members of each field station in a similar fashion. However, in the fourth and most critical phase--diffusion--it gradually became apparent that uniform treatment of each institutional member was inhibiting the spread of new curricula. Thus during 1969-70 efforts were made to "individualize" field station procedures in order to accommodate the differing needs and interests of institutional members within field stations. By then however, it was already too late to overcome some problems. For example, the huge St. Louis School System was scarcely affected by the Project, even though the system was represented in two field stations. Similarly, the impoverished Kinloch district was unable to provide the necessary supports for effective innovation. Moreover, some districts had already withdrawn from the Project because they felt that the curricula used in the Project simply weren't suitable for them. Thus, we suggest that subsequent users of the field station idea consider either or both of the following strategies: (a) seek some sort of homogeneous grouping when selecting schools to participate in a field station (a useful criterion for such grouping would probably be some measure of readiness for innovation); (b) provide staff resources which are sufficient to deal with each field station member on an individual basis during the final phase of the implementation process.

Individual Members

Objective

The Implementation Project initially envisioned several types of participants in the field stations. In this section we shall be concerned with the two major categories of participants from participating schools: master teachers and administrative liaison personnel. (Subsequent sections will treat other participants, e.g. curriculum specialists.)

Master Teachers: According to the proposal each school participating in a field station was to be represented by two master teachers. These teachers were to be "well trained in their disciplines, respected by their colleagues, and interested in curriculum innovation." Implicit in the proposal were two expectations concerning the extent of teacher participation. One was that teachers would participate in the Project for its duration. The other was that participation would be "real" rather than "nominal," i.e. that designation as a master teacher in a field station was not merely an honor and not merely an excuse for reduced teaching load, but rather was a commitment to spending long hours in the work of the field station. For purposes of evaluation we formulated the following questions:

a. Were the participating schools each represented by two teachers?

b. Did master teachers remain in the Project for its duration?

c. Do the master teachers appear to be well trained, respected, and interested in curriculum instruction?

d. Was master teacher participation "real" rather than "nominal"?

Administrative Liaison Personnel: According to the proposal, "there will be one administrative liaison agent (principal, etc.) from each...school to represent his school when key administrative decisions must be made." To check this, we formulated the following question:

e. Were administrative liaison personnel designated, and did they represent their schools in key decisions?

Performance Data

a. Were the participating schools represented by two teachers each?

Table 2 shows the number of teachers from each participating school during the period February, 1968, through June, 1970 (i.e. from the inception of Title III funding through the time of this writing).

Table 2. NUMBER OF PARTICIPATING MASTER TEACHERS EACH SEMESTER

	Station #1							Station #2								Station #3						Station #4				
Semester	Lind	U City	Luth N	Rit	Hazel	Park	Cham	Brent	St. L	Kirk	Norm	Rock	U City	Kinl	Ladue	Val P	St. L	MRH	Web Gr	Affton	Hanc	Riv G.	Ferg F	Hazel	St. C	Luth
Spring, 1968	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	-	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
Fall, 1968	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
Spring, 1969	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	1
Fall, 1969	2	-	1	2	1	2	1	2	-	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	1
Spring, 1970	2	-	1	2	1	1	1	2	-	2	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	-	1	2	2	1

In sum, among the twenty-six member schools, thirteen were represented by two teachers throughout the schools' participation in the Project, seven fluctuated (two representatives at some times and one representative at other times), and six were represented by one teacher throughout the Project. The latter group included three schools which were too small to lose two teachers simultaneously.

b. Did master teachers remain in the Project for its duration?

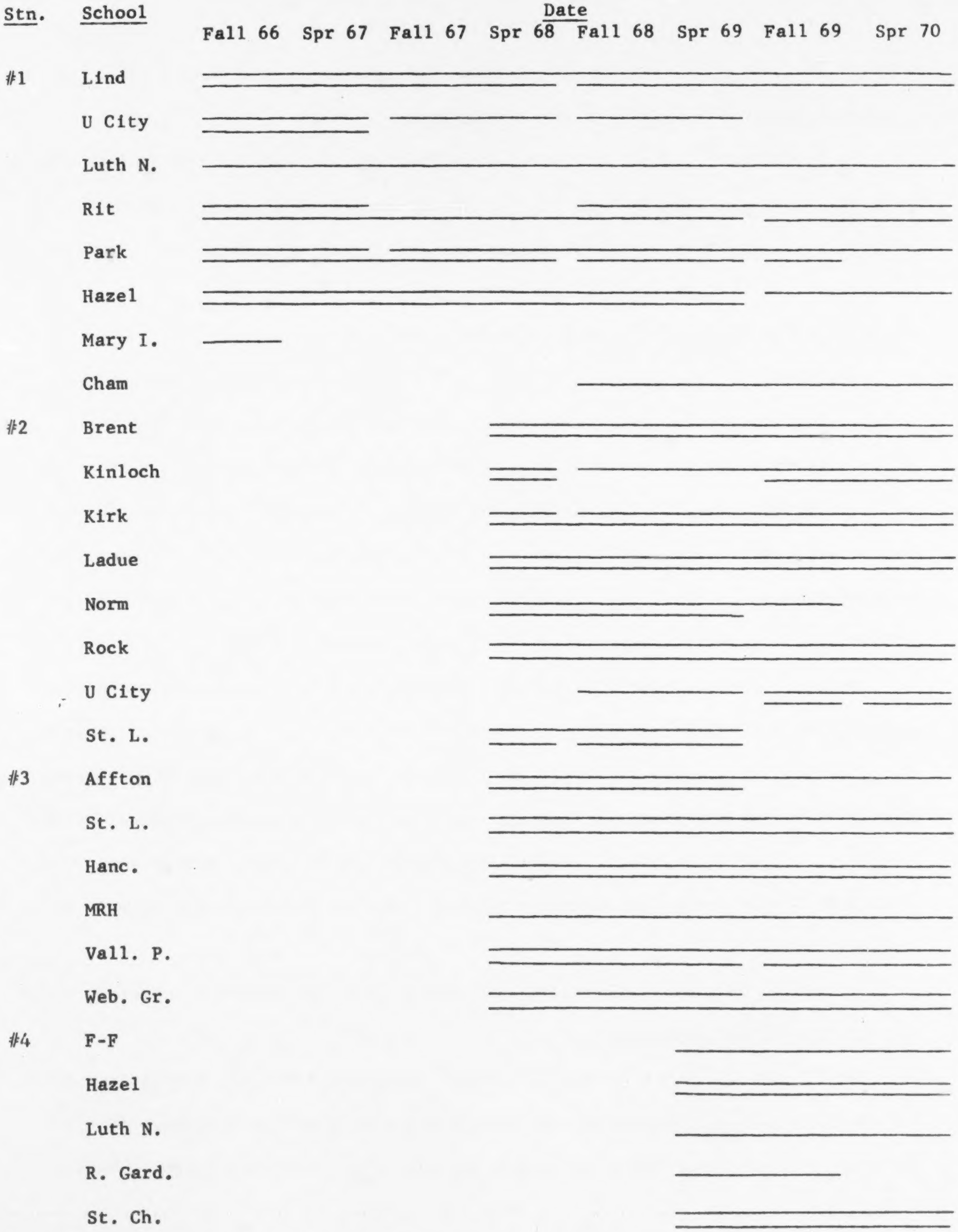
Table 3 depicts the duration of each teacher's participation in each of the field stations. As indicated in the table, turnover was considerable. Of the initial twelve members of field station #1, only six remained in the station after three years; of the fourteen original members of field station #2, only seven remained after two and one-half years; of the original eleven members in field station #3, eight remained after two and one-half years. The turnover problem was particularly serious in field stations #1 and #2; in the fall semester, 1968, there were five newcomers in field station #1 (out of a total membership of eleven) and four new members in field station #2 (out of a total membership of fourteen). Thus the Project had to cope with a severe problem of lack of continuity among participants.

Among the sixty-five teachers who were members of the field stations, no less than 26 (40%) were in the Project for a year or less. Eight of these teachers came from one district, which appeared to shuffle people in and out of the Project without regard to the long-term character of the implementation process. Elsewhere in this report we comment on some of the apparent consequences of short-term membership in the field stations.

c. Do master teachers appear to be well trained, respected, and interested?

Such virtues are difficult to define and virtually impossible to measure in a study of this sort. No demographic data was collected from teachers at the time they joined the Project. There is no evidence that the Project rigorously applied

Table 3. DURATION OF TEACHER PARTICIPATION IN FIELD STATIONS[a]



[a] Each line represents a teacher; a break in a line signifies that one teacher was replaced by another.

any criteria for "admission" to the field stations. However, efforts were made to tell prospective schools and teachers about the expectations of the Project, and to discourage marginal teachers from participating.

We found three or four instances where teachers who were in the Project clearly were not working out satisfactorily. A few of these teachers appear to have been eased out of the Project; others were simply carried with the hope that problems would work out or that some good would come of it.

d. Was master teacher participation "real" rather than "nominal"?

We found very little evidence that master teachers and their home schools "cheated" on the Project. In a few cases schools seem to have felt that since the master teachers weren't teaching very much, it would be acceptable to assign them extra committee work or other nonteaching duties. Similarly, there seem to have been a few teachers who were excessively absent from their field stations; serious morale problems resulted. On the other hand, many teachers contributed time and effort well beyond that required by the Project administrators.

The most serious impediment to full participation by teachers was scheduling problems in their home schools. It proved to be virtually impossible to arrange the schedules of teachers from several districts in a way that gave them common free periods and yet permitted them to teach the specific classes required by the Project. In two of the field stations the effort was abandoned altogether; thus alternate arrangements were necessary if field station teachers were to meet as groups.

e. Were administrative liaison personnel designated, and did they represent their schools in key decisions?

Until 1969-70, contacts between Project personnel and local school administrators were largely limited to initial contacts (usually at the Superintendent's level), correspondence involving budget matters, and occasional contacts between master teachers and their administrators. There was little effort to involve building administrators and district curriculum specialists in the implementation process, despite repeated acknowledgements (in minutes of staff meetings) that such efforts were essential. Thus, building principals and district curriculum specialists clearly were not involved in decisions regarding the development of rationales or the selection and development of pilot curricula. This failure had repercussions later in the Project.

In 1969-70, with the advent of a new Project Director, the growing importance of pilot and diffusion activities, the prospect of phase-out, and manifest concern over past failures, there were increased efforts to develop effective liaison arrangements involving the field stations and local district administrators. Meetings for key administrators were scheduled, a newsletter was published, and more systematic contacts between field station personnel and district personnel were emphasized.

Assessment

In any social program, the most critical input is the people who are "on the line"--those who do the work, create the output, and, ultimately determine the success or failure of the program. Thus the fate of the Implementation Project was partly contingent on the Project's ability to (1) screen entrants, (2) remove unsatisfactory personnel, and (3) correct personnel problems within the Project. We examine these three factors in succeeding paragraphs.

(1) Although it was recognized from the start that teacher characteristics were crucial to the success of the Project, the Project's structure--particularly its political structure--produced a situation in which control over teacher selection rested primarily with the participating districts rather than with the Project itself. Several political features of the Project warrant mention. First, the

Project was intentionally designed to include all types of schools, regardless of their wealth, their size, the overall level of competence of their staffs, their mode of control, or their history. Thus the factors that usually affect receptivity to innovation were deliberately ignored; the Project included schools which gave scant promise of providing a setting congenial to Project goals. Second, the Project was in no position to dictate to schools nor to exercise rigid screening procedures affecting the choice of participating teachers. The Project was in fact a creature of the schools--a service agency. Moreover it was a temporary affair with uncertain life expectancy. Worse, the Project expected to utilize the talents of the schools' best teachers, i.e. to take them away from their teaching. As a result of these factors, the participating schools often had to choose between the best short-run interests of the school and interests of the Project. What is remarkable, perhaps, is the frequency with which the interests of the latter prevailed when teachers were selected for participation. Third, the Project was continually under pressure to show that it would be continued beyond the period of Title III funding. Ideally, of course, the Project's fate would have been determined by its ability to demonstrate results. In reality, results were difficult to show, particularly in the short run. As a result, continuation was partly dependent upon the good will and the satisfaction of the participating districts; these factors would hardly be helped if the Project attempted to dictate the selection of participating teachers. A final political factor resulted from the Project's funding pattern. This pattern produced a situation in which (a) funds for Project administration were cut to a point where there simply wasn't time available to devote major energy to the task of selecting teachers, i.e. the task had to be delegated to the participating schools, and (b) last-minute funding and middle-of-the-year funding seriously restricted everybody's options in selecting teachers.

Despite all these obstacles, the Project did exert a modest degree of control over the selection of master teachers. The participation of some districts, and particularly some schools within districts, was more actively sought than the participation of the other districts or schools; often this "selective recruitment" was based upon staff knowledge about the teachers in particular schools or districts. Early administrative contacts emphasized the importance of long-term commitment of the Project and the importance of teacher competence. At least one field station made an effort to thoroughly brief teachers at their first meeting, apparently on the assumption that some marginal teachers might opt out at that point, and also on the assumption (well founded, we think) that teachers hadn't been adequately informed about the Project by their home schools.

(2) For the same reason that it was difficult to control the entry of master teachers into the Project, it was difficult to remove master teachers from the Project. We suspect that our data is incomplete, but we found only one instance in which a school was asked to remove or replace a Project teacher. In another case, some teachers were given assignments outside the field station with which they were affiliated, but they were kept within the overall Project. For the most part, however, decisions to leave the Project were in the hands of master teachers and their schools.

(3) Once teachers were assigned to the Project, the Project itself had numerous opportunities to aggravate and to resolve personnel problems. Both occurred. We found some personnel problems that were traceable to lack of direction on the part of the Project staff. In several cases, for example, we found teachers who had unclear perceptions of the purposes of the Project; it might have been possible to provide more briefings, particularly for teachers who joined the Project after its inception. On the other hand, as we shall show in subsequent chapters, some Project goals were inconsistent with each other, or changed over time, or were differently

interpreted by staff members; briefings could not have overcome these problems. Lack of direction was also evident in some of the early summer workshops; teachers had unclear notions about their tasks and about the manner in which they should be carried out. In a few cases there were personality problems in the field stations; these problems sometimes were allowed to linger too long without solution (though we readily acknowledge that solutions were sometimes not easy to identify or implement). Another example of lack of direction stemmed from the Project's heel-dragging in developing an effective program for relating to administrative liaison personnel in the participating schools. Master teachers sometimes felt that their administrators did not understand or support the Project. However, effective liaison efforts did not take place on any systematic basis until Fall, 1969.

Some personnel problems were aggravated not by lack of direction but through deliberate actions on the part of the Project staff. For example, some of the coordinators quite consciously sought to transfer responsibility for operation of the implementation process from themselves to the teachers in the field stations. These efforts, which were fully consistent with the Project's goals, sometimes generated looseness and anxieties in the field stations, perhaps because the field station teachers perceived themselves as equals and were reluctant to give or to take authority in these circumstances. Another case of deliberate aggravation of personnel problems stemmed from the staff's occasional decisions to encourage turnover among master teachers. Some master teachers, for example, were encouraged to enter graduate study programs; while such action may have been good for the teachers and ultimately for their schools, it also increased the turnover problem in the field stations. Another type of deliberate encouragement of turnover occurred in one field station which accepted a school's argument that teachers should be rotated in the Project, on the grounds that this would facilitate dissemination. The argument was persuasive, and it was consistent with some of the Project's goals, but it did heighten the turnover problem.

Balancing these instances in which the Project failed to control personnel problems, we found many instances where imaginative and effective devices were employed to minimize such problems. The field station coordinators necessarily became increasingly skillful group leaders; long hours of discussions among themselves, and lengthy memoranda to each other attest to their efforts to come to grips with the interpersonal problems of field station operation. Roles and responsibilities among the central staff, particularly as these involved personnel problems, were gradually clarified. Routinized procedures were introduced, e.g. time sheets, job descriptions, travel reports, evaluation reports. Given the fact the Project design paid scant attention to the personnel problems that were likely to arise, and given the fact that few members of the Project staff were sophisticated students of human relations, we think they acquitted themselves admirably in dealing with the personnel problems within the Project.

Central Staff

Objective

The field stations were the locus of Project activity. However, in order to provide direction and support for field station activity, the Implementation Project required a central staff. According to the Project proposal, this staff was to be "responsible for the creation of the field stations, the direction of all the training programs, the continuing collection of new social studies curricula, and the conducting of research in field stations." The major central staff members were to be three field station coordinators who were specialists in social studies curriculum, an executive director, and two evaluation specialists(one measurement specialist to assist with internal evaluation, and one sociologist or psychologist who specialized in the analysis of the change process).

In order to evaluate the Project's success in securing central staff inputs, we formulated the following two questions:

a. Did the Project fill its central staff positions?

b. Was the central staff deployed effectively?

Performance Data

a. Did the Project fill its central staff positions?

The manner in which the key central staff positions were filled is summarized in Table 4. (Not shown are nonprofessional members of the central staff, part-time consultants, and professional summer workshop leaders.) We call the reader's attention to several features of the table which will be discussed subsequently: the prevalence of subcontracted positions, the interim staffing during the period 1/68-6/68, the turnover in the executive director's position, and the unfilled evaluation positions.

b. Was the central staff deployed effectively?

The ultimate measure of the effectiveness of staff deployment is to be found in Project outcomes (see chapter V). Our task here is to describe the way in which the staff was actually deployed, with particular attention to the problems of deployment that were encountered during the Project.

1. The executive director and the field station coordinators were expected to respond to a wide array of reference groups.

This phenomenon was particularly true of the executive director. The Board of Directors, to whom the director was accountable, expected the director to handle preparations for Board meetings, including the preparation of materials and reports and the provision of full information about Project affairs. The State Department of Education determined whether the Project was annually renewable and determined the level of funding; extensive visitation and communication with the state had to be managed by the Project director. Cooperating agencies--particularly CEMREL, the Metropolitan St. Louis Social Studies Center, and the Center for Educational Field Studies--provided essential personnel to the Implementation Project; each such

Table 4. CENTRAL STAFF (2/68-6/70)

Position	Date	Name	Additional Information
Executive Director	2/68-6/68	---	The coordinator from field station #2 served as part-time acting director during this period.
	7/68-6/69	Borders	Full-time. Directly responsible to Title III Project.
	7/69-6/70	McKenna	Full-time. Directly responsible to Title III Project. Former field station coordinator.
Internal Evaluation Specialist	2/68-6/70	---	Position never filled.
External Evaluation Specialist	2/68-6/68	---	Position unfilled.
	6/68-6/70	Colton, et al.	Subcontracted through Center for Educational Field Studies.
Coordinator Field Station #1	2/68-6/69	Tom	Part-time. Subcontracted through Metropolitan Social Studies Center (MSSC). Also served as coordinator in pre-Title III period (9/66-1/68).
	7/69-6/70	Busekist	Part-time. Extra compensation paid directly. Former field station master teacher.
Coordinator Field Station #2	1/68-6/68	McKenna	Part-time. Directly responsible to Title III Project. Also served as acting director.
	7/68-6/69	McKenna	Full-time. Directly responsible to Title III Project.
	7/69-6/70	Lasher	Full-time. Directly responsible to Title III Project.
Coordinator	2/68-6/70	DeJong	Part-time. Subcontracted through Metropolitan Social Studies Center.
Coordinator Field Station #4	1/69-6/70	Solomon	Part-time. Subcontracted through Metropolitan Social Studies Center.

agency was the subject of interminable budget and personnel problems. There were more than two dozen participating schools, (institutional members of the field stations); the director was expected to establish and sustain relationships with these schools. Visitations and correspondence involving outside educational agencies demanded large chunks of the director's time. Individual and group meetings with the central staff occurred frequently; staff members looked to the executive director to find solutions to their pressing problems, e.g. reproduction of materials, acquisition of supplies, provision of equipment, contacts with school administrators.

Like the executive director, the field station coordinators had to respond to many reference groups. First among them, of course, was the master teachers in each field station. As we shall see in subsequent sections of this report, the master teachers had a variety of problems for which mere curriculum expertise was insufficient. Moreover, the master teachers were unable to divorce themselves from the problems of their home schools--problems over which the coordinators had virtually no influence. The coordinators also tended to be responsive to the broader field of social studies curriculum: developments in the field had to be identified, comprehended, and brought to the attention of the Project if they seemed appropriate. Several of the coordinators worked only part-time in the Project; hence nonproject activities were sometimes salient in the coordinators' lives. Moreover, few of the coordinators worked directly for the Title III Project; most tended to be responsive to their employing agency, which was reimbursed by Title III for services.

2. Effective working relationships between the executive director and the field station coordinators were difficult to establish.

During the period January through June, 1968, there was no executive director; the field station coordinators performed essential Project administrative chores. With the arrival of an executive director in July, it became necessary to redefine the coordinators' roles and to establish the role of the director. Numerous difficulties were encountered. As a result, some important tasks were not performed at all, and some tasks were not performed to the satisfaction of all members of the staff. However, in 1969-70 relationships between the Project director and the coordinators appear to have been clarified and improved.

3. The field station coordinator's relationship with the master teachers was exceedingly complex.

During 1968 the field station coordinators spent a good deal of time trying to analyze and clarify their roles vis-a-vis the teachers in their field stations. The following items, taken from memos circulated among the coordinators, reflect the types of dilemmas they faced:

> How strong a leadership role should the curriculum specialist play? By this I mean several things. To what extent should the curriculum specialist be critical of units produced by field station teachers? Should the curriculum person take full responsibility for the administrative aspects (setting agendas for group meetings, selecting members to serve on writing teams, dealing with administrators from project schools, etc.) of field station operation? Should the curriculum specialist lead the critiques of teaching? All of these issues relate to the general issue of how dominant should the curriculum person's role be in field station operation.
>
> In the early stages of operation (analysis and development phase), the teacher's lack of skills necessary for curriculum analysis and materials development (student readings and teacher plans) tend to force the curriculum specialist to take a dominant role. As time goes on, however, it becomes less desirable to play such a dominant role. Some of the reasons I feel this way are: (1) the teachers become too dependent on how the curriculum specialist reacts to a proposed plan of action. (2) There is only one of us, but ten to fifteen teachers so that we cannot regulate the entire operation, even if we would want to do so. Especially when the teaching gets to the radial schools it becomes difficult to "run" the whole operation. (3) The proposal envisions a largely self-directed group of teachers who are to become innovators in their own districts. To keep the teachers subservient to us does not prepare them for a leadership role in their own schools.
>
> Yet several factors tend to encourage me to be a strong force in field station operation: (1) the ethic of equality seems to exist among most teachers so that they are reluctant to critique the work of other teachers or to tell other teachers what to do (in an administrative sense). (2) The work of the writing groups is of varying quality; some of the work could profit from a stiff critique, a critique which other teachers often are unwilling and, in some cases, unable to do. (3) Some aspects of field station operation (business meetings, for example) run much more smoothly if these aspects are run with a firm hand.
>
> --Staff memo, 10/7/68

The issue I wish to raise is related to the issue of the leadership role of the curriculum specialist raised...at our last meeting. It is, however, more complex in that there are several related aspects to it, some of which we may be able to deal with and others which are built into the field station structure. I call the issue one of group morale. However, it is one of curriculum leadership role as well, and is related to the original selection and identification process, and to the method of deciding where a field station is to be located.

It is obvious that the achievement and productivity of various members of any field station will vary according to the talent of the members and their personal commitment to the project. It further varies according to the innate flexibility or rigidness of personality of the members. However, when key members of a field station (such as pilot teachers) are both inflexible and seem content to let others do the work--make the central decisions--debate the issues--do the extra reading and seems unable or unwilling to carry his share of the work load (or when a number of the members of the group feel that this is true of one or more individuals), the morale and group unity begin to break down. The situation is aggravated when group decisions do not seem to be carried out in the teaching.

--Staff memo, 10/21/68

I currently have a teacher who is very deeply dedicated to the traditional approach of teaching. Her principal is also so inclined. As a result, she constantly refers (vaguely) to "authorities" such as Piaget and Mager or others, to prove that her students are "not ready" for this type of curriculum. Repeated attempts by...members of the peer group, myself, the Project Director, and others to assure this teacher that she should at least try the curriculum and set aside her "fears", have failed. This teacher...consistently tries (and sometimes succeeds) in upsetting the entire group. When questioned in front of the group as to whether or not she disagrees with the rationale she maintains that she does agree and believes in the rationale but that the fault lies in the curriculum materials. This is not the case. This teacher has been completely unaffected by the analysis phase of the project. In addition, she feels that (we) are "against" her and therefore, no matter what she says or does as far as she is concerned, it is to no avail (all this with no evidence whatsoever on her part) and she communicates this feeling to the rest of the group as well as her school's administration endlessly.

In short, here is a teacher who is a good teacher in the classroom (by my own observation) but an "inadequate" teacher as far as the purpose of the field station is concerned--she has the "wrong" attitude. What should be done? Should she be removed? Should she be reasoned with although repeated attempts have failed not only with her but also with her principal and curriculum coordinator? Or should the superintendent be requested to remove her from the project? How long do we stick with such a person?

--Staff memo, 11/14/68

The coordinators did more than identify the problems inherent in their roles. Their staff meetings and their memos to each other reflect repeated efforts to identify and try out solutions, as in the following:

> At this time I am experimenting with several varieties of decentralization. Particular responsibilities that I had last year are now in the hands of (two of the field station teachers). (They) now organize and run the weekly business meeting, assign teachers to writing teams, lead the discussion involving content selection for next semester and next year, and plan for rotational teaching of pilot classes...Some of these responsibilities are administrative; others are related to instruction.
>
> --Staff meeting, 10/7/68

> I recommend that...you break your total group down into subgroups (obviously, carefully selecting each group) and appoint a leader or "captain" to lead each of the groups. After these selections have been made, hold frequent meetings with the leaders/captains, and after close observation on your part over a period of time retain or shuffle your leaders and/or groups to obtain optimum results...Keep a sharp eye out, at all times, for interpersonal animosities and be ever willing to adjust individuals within groups as you (and they) see fit.
>
> --Staff meeting, 10/22/68

As the Project progressed, the coordinator's role was continually refined and clarified. In each field station the coordinator had his own unique style; however, no style seemed to be demonstrably more effective than another. Our point is simply that the coordinator occupied a difficult role, and that the coordinators' efforts to assess their role problems were probably instrumental in developing alternative techniques for handling role problems.

Assessment

Three factors--all beyond the control of the Project's central staff--produced a situation which seriously handicapped the staff in its efforts to provide strong and effective leadership. These factors were (1) the lack of adequate funds for administrative support, (2) the "liability of newness," and (3) the interorganizational context in which the Project operated. In addition to these external factors, however, the Project made its own share of errors; these, too, imposed limitations on staff effectiveness.

(1) The original application for Title III funds requested not only the staff positions listed in Table 4, but also a fourth field station coordinator (which would have permitted a full-time coordinator for each field station) and an assistant director. These two positions were eliminated during budget negotiations with the U.S.O.E. The central staff was further weakened by the fact that an internal evaluation specialist was not hired, first because one couldn't be found, and later because available funds had been diverted to the external evaluation subcontract.

As a result, administrative resources were spread too thin. Essential Project chores consumed available time; there was little time available to provide effective leadership. Moreover, some tasks simply weren't carried out, due to lack of time. Inevitably, as the central staff found itself having to choose among demands, there was some tendency to respond to the demands that were most pressing or most compatible with personalities; other demands which might have been more important to the Project were postponed or ignored.

(2) Any newly created social agency suffers from the "liability of newness"--a phenomenon characterized by overlaps or gaps in role expectations, uncertainty about organizational goals, interpersonal problems attributable to lack of familiarity among personnel, lack of routinized procedures, and so forth. The central staff suffered from the liability of newness not once but repeatedly, as new field stations were created, and as there was turnover among staff members. The absence of a full-fledged executive director during the first six months of the Title III funding period produced an interim administrative structure which had to be dismantled upon the arrival of the executive director in July, 1968; the 1968-69 clashes between the coordinators and the executive director were directly attributable to

the "liability of newness." An additional liability of newness stemmed from the unique character of the Implementation Project; there were few precedents which could be used as guides for overcoming or preventing problems.

(3) The Title III Project was an "interorganization," i.e. an agency largely composed of pieces of existing organizations whose continued support and participation were essential to the success of the Project. For example, master teachers were not paid directly by the Project; they were paid by their school districts, which were then reimbursed by the Project. Similarly, several of the coordinators were not directly paid by the Project; they, too, were paid by other organizations which were reimbursed by the Project. As one of the executive directors noted, "I'm a director with no one to direct." In such circumstances it is virtually impossible to develop or sustain strong central leadership. The fact that the Project did not degenerate into a mere service agency is a tribute, not to the organizational structure of the Project, but rather to the commitment of the Board of Directors and the central staff to the objectives of the Project.

(4) The foregoing factors might have been remedied by careful organizational design, i.e. through steps to avoid such deficiencies, or through steps to overcome their deficiencies. However, even if such steps had been taken in the Implementation Project, we suspect that administrative deficiencies would still have been present. In this section we note some areas in which, in our judgment, the central staff failed to overcome problems which could have been at least partially overcome. One such problem was the problem of goal clarification; a pervasive theme of the next chapter will be the fact that the central staff did not fully clarify (for themselves or for others) the goals of the Implementation Project, particularly in regard to the relative importance of dissemination of curriculum materials and dissemination of the implementation model itself. A second problem stemmed from the staff's occasional reluctance to resolve problems that were clearly identified.

During 1968-69, when we most closely observed the central staff at work, there were at least three problems whose solutions were repeatedly put off--the problem of securing effective administrative liaison with participating schools, the problem of conducting internal evaluation, and the problem of planning for the phase-out of federal funds. Third, within the field stations there was at times an indecisiveness, a postponement of essential decisions, which might have been rectified by stronger leadership from the coordinators. While we recognize the virtue of "keeping all the options open," and while we acknowledge that the coordinators were operating under serious handicaps beyond their control, and while we noted (above) that the coordinators sometimes were quite deliberate in withdrawing from leadership roles, it nonetheless appeared that stronger leadership might have been possible and feasible in certain instances in the field stations.

Our emphasis upon problems--whether unavoidable or self-inflicted--should not be interpreted as basic criticism. In our observations of the behavior of the central staff, we were repeatedly impressed by the staff's fundamental competence and by its commitment to the goals and procedures of the Implementation Project, as indicated in the following excerpt from our field notes:

> The group is dealing with the Nazi issue. The coordinator incisively clarifies the issues...The group tries to evade answers to the coordinator's questions. Finally he says, "Then if you feel that way, I don't see why you're trying to teach this material." There is no rancor in his voice; he's merely stating a fact. (Note: It seems to me that the issue here is that there is no strong leader in the group. None of these three master teachers seems exceptionally capable. If the coordinator were not here, I don't see how they could get anywhere.) The coordinator pursues this to such a point that one of the teachers seems to be coming around. The coordinator's accepting attitude is largely responsible for this.
>
> --Field Notes, 7/16/68

Materials, Services, and Facilities

Objective

In addition to the major inputs to field stations discussed in preceding sections, there were several additional inputs which were critical to the success of the field station model but which do not seem to warrant the detailed attention given to the preceding items. We have identified the following additional inputs as having a significant impact on the total field station structure:

a. Curriculum materials--An assumption of the Implementation Project was that the products of various national curriculum projects in the social studies would be accessible to Project participants.

b. Instructional materials--Once identified, the materials from the various national curriculum projects had to be made available in sufficient number, proper form, and appropriate format to allow their use in Project classes.

c. Outside consultants--In addition to the specialists regularly employed as Project staff, the Implementation Project anticipated that University specialists as well as specialists from the curriculum projects would be brought into the Project on an irregular basis.

d. Facilities--While the original Project proposal had very little to say about facilities, there was at least an implicit need to make available facilities in which Project teachers would work as groups, could try out curriculum materials, could teach demonstration classes, and could conduct analysis and critique sessions.

Performance Data

a. Curriculum materials--

The library of the Metropolitan Social Studies Center at Washington University includes a nearly complete collection of the products of the several national social studies curriculum development projects; the library served as a major resource to the field stations as they conducted the analysis phase of the implementation process. Participating districts paid a small fee to the Center so that it could continue to update its collection. The central staff also obtained materials directly from some of the national projects. In general, it appears that if materials existed at all, Project personnel managed through one device or another to obtain them.

b. Instructional materials--
A perennial source of frustration within the Project was the difficulty of obtaining materials in sufficient number for pilot and diffusion activities. The problem was compounded by a number of factors: (a) Some of the materials selected for use were not available in published form; hence extra copies had to be made within the Project. (b) Some of the materials utilized in the pilot and diffusion activities were written within the Project; again the problem was to produce these materials in sufficient quantity for classroom utilization. (c) Diffusion of curriculum materials was more rapid and more widespread than originally anticipated. (d) Adequate equipment and facilities for the printing process were not available within the Project itself. (e) Copyright problems sometimes complicated the problem of printing and distributing materials. (For example, some curriculum projects were willing to allow the Title III Project to use materials on a very limited basis; hence control procedures had to be instituted.) (f) The dispersed geographic character of the Project produced difficulties in getting printed materials to the right places at the right time. (g) Provisions for paying for materials had to be devised.

By the third year of the Project, solutions to most of the above problems had been devised. Prior to that time, however, the problem of providing instructional materials consumed enormous amounts of administrative time and patience.

c. Consultants--

Outside consultants were rarely used. During the analysis phase, some of the field stations imported the authors of various curriculum materials. Our evidence suggests that the Project participants found these sessions to be useful and worthwhile. However, except for the analysis phase, little use was made of the substantial funds initially budgeted for consultant services.

d. Facilities--

Facilities were required for each field station and for the central office staff. During the analysis and development phases, the only facilities required by the field stations were seminar rooms where the Project teachers could meet together. During the pilot phase, it was necessary to have work space (for continuing development work and for curriculum revision) plus classrooms which were suitable for several observers. In general these facilities were provided by participating schools or in CEMREL offices. (In one of the field stations facilities became a real problem. A teachers' lounge was supposed to double as a workroom; however, the two functions of the room proved to be incompatible.) Amenities such as adequate and secure storage space for curriculum materials also appeared to be important to Project morale and productivity.

(5) In addition to the above, the Project discovered additional inputs that were required. Video-tape equipment, for example, was expected to play a major role in the Project. It did so, except that on numerous occasions it malfunctioned or proved to be in the wrong location at the wrong time. Specialized personnel were sometimes employed by the Project. For example, some of the summer workshops employed students who had previously been taught Project materials; feedback from these students was utilized in the revision of curriculum materials. University students were occasionally employed to perform odd jobs such as collecting and distributing materials for the field stations.

Assessment

Any project, particularly one as unique as the Implementation Project, discovers needs which have not been anticipated during the design phase. To a sizeable extent, the Project's success is affected by the manner in which it responds to such needs. In the Implementation Project imaginative and effective solutions for most unanticipated problems seem to have been devised. The only major exception was the problem of producing instructional materials in sufficient quantity to meet Project needs; neither the financial nor the physical resources were available in sufficient quantity.

Financial Support

Objective

Adequate financial support was an essential prerequisite for the establishment and operation of the field stations. The major components of the Implementation Project costs were as follows:

1. Support for master teachers--In order to provide time for the master teachers to carry out the implementation process, they had to be released from portions of their regular teaching assignments during the academic year, and they had to be paid for their additional obligations during the summer. Thus, for a master teacher whose regular teaching load was reduced from five classes to three, schools had to find funds to pay for 2/5 of a teacher; assuming a teacher salary of $6,000, the replacement costs of each master teacher were $2400 per academic year. Summer salary for each master teacher was $1,200 for a six-week session. Thus, the total direct cost of each teacher was $3,600 per year. At these rates, one 12-man field station would cost $43,200 per year for master teachers.

2. Central staff--In order to provide a full-time coordinator for each field station (at a salary of $10,000-$15,000 per year), plus a full-time Project Director (at a salary of $12,000-$18,000 per year), plus two evaluation specialists (at

$12,000-$18,000 per year), plus regular and part-time secretarial services (at $20,000-$30,000 per year), budget support in the range of $96,000-$144,000 per year was required (plus benefits). To the extent that these services were subcontracted, additional costs (e.g. overhead to a university) would be incurred.

3. Materials--Funds were required to obtain sample materials from the national curriculum projects, plus teacher materials and student materials to be used in pilot and radial school classrooms. The latter was particularly expensive: in the diffusion phase, if each of twelve teachers in a field station used materials in two classrooms of 30 students, and if materials cost $10 per student (these acquisition costs had to be borne within the life of the Project and could not be depreciated over a period of years), student materials alone would cost $7,200 for each year a new curriculum was disseminated to the radial schools in one field station. Dissemination of materials beyond the radial school classrooms of the master teachers would, of course, entail additional costs.

4. Facilities--Space for the operations of the field stations and for central staff offices had to be procured.

5. Equipment, services, and support--The Implementation Project required audio and video equipment, materials reproduction equipment, storage cabinets, consultant services, travel expenditures (each teacher had to travel to the site of field station activity), and the usual costs of office supplies, telephone service, postage, and maintenance services.

In order to attain the desired level of financial support, funds were solicited from the U.S. Office of Education (through Title III, E.S.E.A.), the Central Midwestern Regional Educational Laboratory (CEMREL), and local school districts.

Performance Data

1. Funds were secured from a variety of sources. The primary source of support was Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; Title III

expenditures averaged about $200,000 per year during the period February 1, 1968, through June 30, 1970, with additional support scheduled for the period July 1, 1970, through January 31, 1971. CEMREL supported the Project at a rate of about $35,000 per year during the period September, 1966, through August, 1970. Local schools also provided modest financial support to the Project. Washington University provided direct and indirect support to Project participants. Additional Project support was obtained through fees charged to participants in summer workshops and charges for materials distributed by the Project.

2. Funding levels were consistently lower than the levels envisioned in the initial Project proposal. The lower levels of funding were reflected primarily in reduced manpower at the central staff level (e.g. part-time field station coordinators instead of full-time coordinators), and in reduced funding for released time for master teachers (e.g. released time support for pilot teachers was reduced from 3/5 to 2/5; released time in one field station was based on approximately 1/5 time).

3. Budgetary procedures and problems interfered with orderly Project management. Such interference was noted in a number of areas: (a) Budget periods were not compatible with each other. Support from local schools was budgeted on a fiscal year basis (July-June). Title III funds were budgeted on a February-January basis. CEMREL funds were budgeted on a December-November fiscal period. These variations produced problems and procedures that were inordinately complicated. (b) Budget periods were not compatible with the internal work cycle of the Project. The work cycle of the Project included two distinct periods: the academic year (early September through mid-June) and the summer (mid-June through late July). None of the Project's budgets coincided with this cycle. (c) Late Title III funding, and uncertainties about the levels of Title III funding, reduced Project options and reduced Project capabilities for long-range planning. These features were

particularly serious in their impact on field station #4. (d) Subcontracting to the Center for Educational Field Studies and the Metropolitan Social Studies Center was repeatedly confounded by problems affecting overhead rates; enormous quantities of professional time had to be diverted to solving this problem.

4. A number of unforeseen problems and opportunities provided occasions for budget revisions and budgeting flexibility. As we shall see elsewhere, the Project emphasized dissemination of materials more than originally anticipated; in order to cover the costs of materials dissemination, special arrangements had to be made. Summer work also became more complex and more important than initially envisioned; budgetary procedures had to be devised to handle tuition payments from teachers to universities and for students in summer school classes. Summer workshops also required additional central staffing. Other budgetary innovations were particularly evident in the elementary field station, where it became apparent that the Master Teachers could not be released from their self-contained classrooms on a daily basis; an alternate arrangement was devised whereby teachers were released from their classrooms one day per week.

Assessment

Financial constraints were a major source of weakness within the Implementation Project. Budget reductions made it impossible to purchase professional services at the necessary level. Delays in establishing budgets drastically reduced possibilities for advanced planning. The complexities caused by multiple funding sources and by the necessity to subcontract diverted crucial administrative resources into budgetary problems when these resources might better have been applied to other aspects of Project management and leadership.

Summary Evaluation: Field Station Structure

The effectiveness of the field station structure will be considered in subsequent chapters; here our concern has been the feasibility of the field station structure. As far as we can determine, the structure utilized in the Implementation Project is unprecedented. We know of no comparable efforts to link teachers, over long periods of time, for substantial fractions of their time, from multiple districts, under the supervision and leadership of nonschool curriculum experts.

In general, the Implementation Project has demonstrated that it is indeed possible to create field stations. We identified five classes of inputs which were essential to the field stations; data were collected showing the extent to which these inputs were actually obtained. Our findings may be summarized as follows:

1. Institutional members--

As initially planned, four field stations were created. Membership within each field station usually was within the range sought (five to seven schools). Most member schools remained in the Project throughout the period studied. Membership was open to all. Geographic clustering was achieved. District wealth was not a factor which limited participation. Interest on the part of participating schools appears to have been high in most cases.

2. Individual members--

The Project fell somewhat short of its goal of obtaining long-term participation by pairs of teachers from each participating school. Among sixty-five teachers, only twenty-three remained with a field station for its duration. Twenty-six participated in the Project for one year or less. Half of the participating districts were sometimes or always represented by only one teacher. Effective liaison with school administrative personnel was not developed until the Project was well-established. Within these limitations, the majority of individual members in the Project appeared to be competent and committed to the Project's goals and procedures.

3. Central staff--

Coordinators for the field stations were employed from the inception of the Project. However, the Project director's position and the external evaluation positions were vacant during the first half-year of the Project. The internal evaluation position was never filled. The roles of central staff members were initially unclear; some clarification developed as the Project progressed.

4. Materials, services, and facilities--

Curriculum materials were readily available. Continuing problems were encountered in the production of instructional materials; duplication facilities were inadequate for the demands of the Project for instructional materials. Consultant services were utilized sparingly. Adequate facilities were available through the participating schools, CEMREL, and Washington University.

5. Financial support--

Bureaucratic red tape, externally imposed budget reductions, and uncertainties about continuation of Project funding had a pervasive and largely negative impact on the Project.

Chapter IV

THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS IN THE FIELD STATIONS

Once established, the field stations were supposed to carry out a "curriculum implementation process." The initial design for this process was based upon consideration of the nature of the social sciences, the characteristics of social science curricula, the characteristics of potential users of the new curricula, and the process of innovation (see Chapter I). The implementation process was conceived as a four-stage process: (1) an analysis phase in which field station members would consider the nature and function of social studies instruction, investigate the new social studies curricula, and select one new curriculum for further implementation; (2) a development phase in which the new curriculum would be adapted for utilization and in which field station members would learn any new teaching strategies necessary for effective utilization of the new curriculum; (3) a pilot phase in which the new curriculum would be tried out in the pilot (field) school, evaluated, and revised in light of the trial experience; and (4) a diffusion phase in which the new curriculum would be installed in the radial schools in each field station. Figures 1 and 2 (Chapter I) summarize the manner in which these four phases were scheduled to occur in the Implementation Project.

Our task here, as in the preceding chapter, is to describe the process as initially visualized, to show what happened in practice, and to consider the reasons why the process went the way it went. We will treat each phase separately.

Analysis Phase

Objective[1]

Each field station was to begin its activities by engaging in a process called "analysis." The purpose of the analysis phase was twofold: (1) to teach field station teachers how to analyze new curricula, and (2) to elicit a decision about which new curriculum or combination of curricula were to be selected for development, pilot, and diffusion in each field station.

In the eyes of the Implementation Project's designers, the basic question underlying curriculum analysis is this: does a given curriculum attempt to achieve anything worthwhile? The distinction between curriculum analysis and curriculum evaluation was stressed in the proposal. Evaluation, according to the proposal, is concerned with the degree to which a curriculum accomplishes the things it sets out to accomplish. Analysis is concerned with the worthwhileness of the intentions or goals of the curriculum. Thus analysis requires answers to two questions: (1) What is worthwhile? (2) What are the intentions of each curriculum? These questions, outwardly simple though they are, are enormously complex, especially in view of the ferment in social science curricula. The new curricula usually don't accept the traditional model of social science curriculum, e.g., American History in the 8th grade and 11th grade, World History in the 10th, and electives or civics in the 9th. Moreover conventional teaching strategies aimed at mastery of historical information are not readily adapted to new curricula which emphasize modes of inquiry, structures of disciplines, critical thinking, and the like.

Prior to the inception of the Project a review of the literature had revealed that the techniques for answering the basic analytical questions simply were not available. Hence, according to the proposal, a Curriculum Analysis Handbook was being developed and would be available to the field stations. The Handbook would be used as a guide to raising and answering the questions essential to analysis. The Handbook was not to stress any particular point of view; the teachers themselves were to be free to choose their own curriculum upon conclusion of the analysis process.

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[1] This section is based upon the Project proposal, 7/67, pp. 28-29, 43-44, 56-57, 78-80.

The original proposal for the Implementation Project included several statements describing the way in which the analysis phase would be conducted. It was scheduled to last for approximately one semester (except in the first field station, where a year was provided). The field station coordinator, utilizing the Handbook, would lead the process. All field station teachers would participate. At least two new social science curricula would be analyzed in each station. The teachers themselves would eventually make a choice about which curriculum or combination of curricula would be selected for development and piloting.

Performance Data

1. All field stations began their operations with a curriculum analysis phase. In field station #1, 18 two-day workshops (Friday-Saturday) were conducted during 1966-67. In field station #2 analysis was conducted during six days of released time and during weekly evening meetings during the spring semester, 1968. Field station #3 met on a daily basis during the spring semester, 1968. The analysis phase in field station #4 was conducted during daily meetings in late spring, 1969, and during the first three weeks of the 1969 summer workshop.

2. In the curriculum analysis phase all field stations did concentrate on the two basic questions: what is worthwhile? what are the intentions of each curriculum? In the course of answering the latter question, several

new social science curricula were examined by each field station. The following two illustrations are indicative of the activities of the analysis phase:

> The first three months of our work were concentrated upon an effort to raise primary issues and questions related to the reasoning which lies behind educational decisions in the social studies for general education. For this purpose, the group read and discussed a wide variety of books and materials including books by Oliver and Shaver, Charles Frankel, Munt and Metcalf, and Theodore Brammeld, and articles on such subjects as thinking, objectives, values, social science, history, etc. In addition we read and discussed curriculum materials from the Harvard Social Studies Project, the Carnegie Tech Social Studies Project and the High School Geography Project. In connection with the latter project we spent two full days in consultation with George Davis of the Geography Project. In an effort to further our understanding of the Carnegie Tech and the Harvard Projects the group visited classes at East Ladue Junior High and at Lindbergh where project materials are being taught.
>
> -- Interim Report
> Field Station #3, 5/13/68

> 1:07. The Coordinator gives the group an assignment. They are to read on three questions: (1) What does the term "history" mean to you? (2) How do you justify teaching history for your students? (3) Based on your experience, what suggestions do you have for how history might be taught? He proposes that the answers to these questions might be exchanged, perhaps written out....Next he moves into a discussion of "Ideals and Idols of Democracy" by Charles Frankel in the Berlak-Shaver book. Teacher A raises the issue of whether, if people are not involved in decision making in our society, they should be taught to be decision makers. Why bother with this? What difference does it make? (Teacher A phrases his comments in terms of a student raising these issues; in fact, he appears to be revealing a personal attitude.) He suggests the alternative of teaching students to be shrewd observers....Teacher B says that everyone is a decision maker....
>
> 2:00. The discussion moves to an article in Berlak-Shaver by Myrdal: "American Values and American Behavior: A Dilemma." Teacher B leads the discussion of the paper. The other four teachers take notes....Should students be told the reality of history or should they be given the idealized portraits of the patriots? Teachers C and D approve hero worship. Teacher A argues against idealized hero worship and favors showing patriots as human beings, with all their faults and failures. Teacher C comes to agree with him.
>
> --Field Notes, 4/17/68

3. Each field station sought a "rationale" which would explicate the field station members' views about the purposes of social studies and about the curricular features necessary to achieve these purposes; the rationales were to serve as guides to the selection of curriculum materials for development and piloting. However, contrary to initial expectations, field stations generally found that they could not simply adopt pre-existing rationales from the national curriculum projects; instead it was necessary for the stations to develop their own rationales--a much more difficult task.

In the two senior high school field stations (#1 and #3) the development of written rationales proceeded at a leisurely pace. In field station #1, the first written version did not appear until March, 1968--nearly a year after the scheduled analysis phase. In field station #3 the coordinator wrote in mid-1968 that the rationale would be completed within a week (i.e., shortly after the scheduled completion of the analysis process); twelve months later the rationale still hadn't appeared. In field station #4 the pace was faster; a draft rationale was produced just a few weeks after the conclusion of this field station's brief but intensive analysis phase. In the elementary field station (#2) the need for developing a new rationale was omitted; this station found that it agreed with the rationale which accompanied the Washington University curriculum, and so the rationale was simply adopted along with the curriculum.

4. Each field station selected specific curriculum materials for development and piloting. However, the selection decisions fell behind schedule, and they were much affected by factors other than the rationales. According to the initial plan of operation, the selection decisions were supposed to have occurred as follows:

Table 5. SCHEDULE OF CURRICULUM SELECTION DECISIONS

Field Station	Grade Level	Date to be Selected
#1	9	Spring, 1967
	10	Spring, 1968
	11	Spring, 1969
#2	4	Spring, 1968
	5	Spring, 1969
	6	Spring, 1970
#3	10	Spring, 1968
	11	Spring, 1969
	12	Spring, 1970
#4	7	Spring, 1969
	8	Spring, 1970

In general, it appears that each field station made its first curriculum decision pretty much on schedule. However, the second decision, which was to be made while the first-year curriculum was being piloted, tended to fall behind. In one field station, for example, we found that the second-year pilot was well under way before the materials for the second semester of that pilot were selected. Another station found itself so dissatisfied with its first-year pilot that it spent considerable time reconsidering the first-year selection decision; this diverted attention from the task of selecting the second-year materials. Two of the field stations eventually abandoned the idea of selecting third year materials; energies were diverted instead to reworking prior curricula, to diffusion, and to piloting of individual units rather than entire grade levels.

In principle, curriculum selection decisions were to be based on the field stations' rationales. However, as the following field notes show, other factors (cost, time, personal bias) also played a part:

Teacher A: We must take into consideration materials for the rest of the year.

Teacher B: If we decide to use two books, isn't the pilot school obligated to buy them?

Coordinator: Yes, but let's make sure we use them. If we use them the pilot school should buy them...We don't have the right to order something we don't intend to use...If we are going to use one unit, we shouldn't buy them. If a superintendent is asked to buy a book for only 3 weeks he could tell us to get the project out....

Teacher C: How many readings are we going to do on Red China?

Teacher B: All of them.

(The entire group is talking with one another on the number of weeks left, the units to be covered, and the value of some of the upcoming readings--Observer)

Teacher D: I would recommend a day-by-day covering of units whether a unit is finished by that day or not.

Teacher E: We have 14½ weeks of material to cover in 13 weeks.

Teacher F: We feel the Africa unit is of utmost importance because of its parallel to American life today. The tribes' adjustment to urban life is similar to the rural South's negro move to the city. We could argue that next year we are going to study the negro's view of America.

Teacher G: If we cut out Brazil, can we cover the other three units?

Coordinator: What other inputs are we talking about? We must get to the "public policy" issue. We have built all year to get to this position. If we wish to start it, we must decide to get into public policy issues....

--Field Notes, 2/26/69

(A committee chairman is reporting on her committee's study of the Lippitt-Fox curriculum--Observer)

Chairman: The materials are being published by SRA. The materials include teacher's manual, teacher's resource book, and basic children's text, hardbound. After the first unit is used, teachers could skip around among the other units. Also included is a children's workbook. (Appears to be another problem-solving or inquiry method--Observer) The basic theme or objective is the study of individual behavior--the children's own behavior plus behavior of others in the peer group--through the inquiry process. (Chairman reads a portion of the Introduction--Observer): "The classroom will become a laboratory in the social sciences." (The Chairman uses this sentence as a basis for questioning the materials--Observer)

Teacher A: Why can't our classrooms become a laboratory?

Chairman: I feel it doesn't meet our basic rationale which we are following. The classroom should not be a lab; it should not be an end in itself. (From past meetings I would have guessed that Lippitt-Fox had a chance of being a viable alternative; it appears now that it is under attack--Observer)....

Chairman: The materials are available. Movies and records are included. (She reads the record titles in a cynical way...Her presentation is biased against the curriculum. So far, either the committee members, or the coordinator, or a majority of the group have been against each curriculum presented--Observer)

--Field Notes, 5/2/69

There is other support for our contention that curriculum decisions were not dictated solely by criteria included in the rationales of each field station. One field station actually voted formally to interpret its rationale loosely. In this same field station the coordinator once found it necessary to remind his cohorts--ever so gently--that the rationale was a legitimate consideration in selecting curriculum:

> As I think back on yesterday's discussion, I believe that one reason why we are having such a hard time deciding what to teach next semester is that teachers are arguing from different perspectives. Examples of these perspectives are: a concern for diffusing the course to as many teachers as possible, an interest in what materials may have the greatest appeal to youngsters, which materials are most available, which materials are most consistent with our long-term commitment to public issues....(One) way to approach the problem of selecting materials for a second semester is to look back at why we selected first semester. Our selection of Fenton-Good for first semester was based primarily on the idea that their approach could improve the quality of the discussion of public issues....
>
> --Coordinator's Memo, 10/17/68

Another station was so tardy in explicating its rationale that it could not have been a prominent factor in the initial selections of curricula. The coordinator in still another field station acknowledged that he had urged his group not to feel bound to, or limited by, its initial rationale; the rationale, he said, could be modified and improved by trying out a variety of curricula which might at first appear to be inconsistent with the rationale.

5. The curriculum analysis process was accompanied by numerous unanticipated problems. Here we simply enumerate the problems which we identified; their significance is assessed in the "discussion" section below.

   a. The Curriculum Analysis Handbook was not completed until early 1970, i.e., after the completion of most cycles of analysis.

   b. Teacher turnover in the field stations required the introduction of procedures whereby new teachers could familiarize themselves with the analysis process and could learn of the specific rationale previously developed within their field stations.

c. Curriculum materials required for analysis in each field station sometimes were difficult or impossible to obtain. (This problem diminished during the life of the Project, as more and more curriculum projects reached the marketing stage; in fact, field station #4 found itself unable to analyze all available new curricula.)

Assessment of the Analysis Phase

On the positive side, there are a number of reasons for assigning high marks to the Project's efforts to carry out its plans for curriculum analysis. First, of course, every field station did engage in analysis. This was done despite the pioneering nature of the task, despite its enormous complexity, and despite some pressures from outside the Project to get on with "more important, less theoretical" tasks such as disseminating new curricula. Second, even though the outcomes of the analysis process--the development of rationales and the selection of curricula for implementation--fell somewhat short of expectations, we suspect that the Project participants were far more systematic and rational in their efforts than is the case with most curriculum implementation efforts. Third, there is evidence that project participants themselves regarded the analysis process as worthwhile. Impressive evidence of this sort is found in responses to a questionnaire administered to the teachers in field station #1 about one year after inception of the station. Respondents were uniformly enthusiastic about the value of the two-day sessions during 1966-67; the readings, the consultants, and the visits to nearby schools were specifically cited as valuable experiences. Additional evidence about the value of analysis resides in the fact that several project teachers who have run their own workshops appear to have incorporated elements of the analysis process into these workshops.

On the other side of the coin, there is no doubt that the Project fell short of expectations in the analysis phase. The processes of logic and reasoning envisioned in the Project proposal became infused with the consequences of accident, emotion, experience, and, most important, the realities of teaching and curriculum building in contemporary schools. The unexpectedly large impact of these "extraneous" factors stems from two sets of problems: (1) design problems, and (2) problems of execution.

(1) Design problems--A number of problems were wittingly or unwittingly built into the Project from its inception. First, the model assumes that teachers from disparate districts could and would agree on a rationale and on the choice of curricula to be piloted, developed, and diffused. Such an assumption appears to take insufficient account of the realities of school politics. It violates the norm of local control. It also violates some of the features of analysis itself; forexample, the idea that curricula should be suited to the needs and interests of the students who are exposed to them is hard to reconcile with the fact that each field station was to choose one curricula suitable for students in half a dozen districts.

A second flaw in design stems from the assumption that the analysis phase can be so free of the biases of field station coordinators that field station teachers themselves will be unconstrained in their choice of curricula. We noted that every field station developed a rationale which primarily emphasized the "public issues" approach to social studies curriculum. This is not to say that the rationales were identical, but the degree of their similarity is noteworthy. It is possible, of course, that any reasonable person who undertakes systematic curriculum analysis will conclude that the public issues approach is superior to all other approaches. However, we suspect that the close relationship between the Project and Washington University's social studies faculty--which emphasizes the public issues approach--was a prominent factor in influencing the direction of teachers' thinking in the field stations. There is evidence that most central staff members went to great lengths to avoid imposing their views on teachers in the field stations. Yet such imposition was probably unavoidable. The analysis process is so alien to the habits of most teachers that it seems inevitable that whoever leads a group through the analysis process is likely to infuse his own views--however well disguised--into those people who are working with him.

A third design problem was the assumption that teachers are able and willing to choose curricula on the basis of abstract and deductive analysis, i.e., in the absence of concrete experience with the curricula being considered. We picked up a multitude of vague yet consistent clues that teachers can't function this way. In order for teachers to choose among curricula, and in order for them to have confidence in their choice, the curricula must actually be tried out with real children in real settings. The experience gained from the trial affects teachers' commitment to further systematic implementation.

(2) Execution problems--We detected two major flaws in the Project's efforts to carry out the analysis process; both flaws help account for the heavy infusion of reality-based (as opposed to analysis-based) factors in the curriculum selection decisions. The first factor was that the concept of "rationale" seems to have been insufficiently clear to project personnel, including the field station coordinators. Not until late in the Project, for example, did we find evidence that anyone was concerned with the scope of rationales: did they apply only to one grade, or were they to be applicable throughout a district? The idea that rationales could or should

be revised in the light of experience with the pilot seems to have been missed until the project was well under way; by then it was too late to make adequate provisions for revisions of rationales. The actual task of preparing a rationale seems to have been underestimated; there was a great deal of heel-dragging--probably occasioned in part by the absence of any clear notion of what was wanted.

The second major problem of execution was the apparent failure of analysis skills to "take" with the project teachers. We think that the teachers became aware of the skills, and we think that they liked the idea of analysis, but it appears that the analysis skills were slow to become part of the habitual behavior of project participants. Field station coordinators had to repeatedly remind teachers of the importance of utilizing rationales in analyzing curricula, units, and lessons. Two of the coordinators provided rather direct evidence of concern with analysis when they prepared memos designed to help the fourth field station get started. They said, in part:

> At this time I am more unhappy with the results of the analysis phase than with any other aspect of our work. I do not find that when teachers are faced with crucial problems of content selection and organization that they use the ways of thinking which are the basis of curriculum analysis.
>
> --Memo, undated, field station #1 coordinator

> One of the central problems...is to make the issues raised during analysis central to the teacher's concern with the ongoing day-to-day teaching task during all of the field station's activities.
>
> --Memo, undated, field station #3 coordinator

An independent observer studying one of the field stations reached a similar conclusion: teachers simply were not applying the rationale that they had developed.

Development Phase

Objective[1]

The designers of the Implementation Project recognized that the curricular materials selected by each field station were not likely to be in a form suitable for immediate classroom utilization. Many of the new curriculum materials were likely to be supplemental in nature; for these it would be necessary to develop ways to integrate the new materials with existing ones. Many of the curricula would require new teaching strategies on the part of teachers; these strategies would have to be identified and teachers would have to be trained in their use. Many of the materials, it was expected, would have to be adapted to meet local conditions. Moreover, since it was likely that most new curricula would not be accompanied by persuasive evaluation data, it would be necessary for the field stations to make plans for evaluation if local administrators and boards were to be expected to adopt the new curricula following the pilot phase.

In order to resolve these problems, a "development" phase was built into the field station activities. This phase was scheduled to occur in the summers, between the analysis and pilot phase. The Project proposal indicated that summer development activities would include alteration of curriculum materials and strategies, in-service training to prepare teachers to use the materials, and planning for evaluation of the pilot classes and the curriculum itself. Ideally, the development process was to include the following elements: (1) formation of subgroups in each field station; (2) subgroup preparation of one or more teaching units, including daily lesson plans, supplemental materials, and alternative teaching strategies; (3) critiques by other members of the field station and suggestions for revision were made; (4) filing of materials for subsequent use in the pilot classes; and (5) learning of new teaching strategies appropriate to the new curricula.

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[1] This section is based upon the Project proposal, 7/67, pp. 45-46

Performance Data

1. All field stations carried out development activities. The following table summarizes the development activities of the field stations during the summer workshops:

Table 6. DEVELOPMENT SCHEDULE

Field Station	Date	Curriculum Materials Developed
#1	Summer, 1967	Oliver (AEP), 9th grade
	Summer, 1968	Fenton, 10th grade
	Summer, 1969	American History, 11th grade
#2	Summer, 1968	Berlak-Tomlinson units, 4th grade
	Summer, 1969	Original materials, (migrant labor)
	Summer, 1970	Original materials
#3	Summer, 1968	Oliver-Fenton, 10th grade
	Summer, 1969	American History, 11th grade
	Summer, 1970	Continuation of 10th and 11th grade
#4	Summer, 1969	Oliver (AEP), 7th grade
	Summer, 1970	Original and Oliver (AEP) 7th-9th grade

As we shall indicate below, the above table is somewhat misleading in that it fails to reflect two phenomena: (1) summer workshops did not limit themselves to development activities, and (2) development activities also took place during the regular school year.

2. The development process acquired four formal characteristics not anticipated in the Project proposal. (a) The development phase was not confined to the summer period. The six-week summer workshops provided insufficient time to develop an entire year's curriculum. As a result, some of the academic year time initially scheduled for pilot or diffusion activities was utilized for development. (b) Development sometimes was oriented not to existing curriculum

materials, but to the creation of original units or lessons. This was particularly true of field station #2 which wrote a unit on migratory labor during the 1969 and 1970 summer sessions. (c) Development was initially expected to take place with reference primarily to the field station rationales and curricular materials; however, a third point of reference--the classroom--was interjected. At first, development was envisioned as an academic activity which could best be conducted during the summer, in nonschool settings such as a university, without the interferences of daily teaching. Two factors, however, changed this initial vision. First, as indicated above, some development occurred during the academic year. Second, the two high school field stations deliberately made use of summer school classes in the pilot districts. Thus a reality-dimension was introduced into the development process. Elsewhere we will comment on some of the consequences of this. (d) Until 1970, very little activity was devoted to the development of systematic plans for evaluating pilot curricula. Evaluation committees were established in each field station, but these committees generally failed to produce usable plans or materials for systematic evaluation.

3. The development process was heavily influenced by personal and interpersonal factors among field station members. Below we have enumerated some of the difficulties that cropped up. We do not have sufficient data to plot the infrequency or location of these difficulties, nor are we able to indicate the extent to which the difficulties were overcome. Here our intent is simply to cite the sorts of internal problems that interfered with the execution of an outwardly sensible and attainable task. (a) Some field station teachers had insufficient mastery of the subject matter being taught. Hence, before these teachers could develop materials, and in order for them to effectively critique materials developed by others, it was necessary to

"learn the subject." In most cases the field station coordinator helped fill the gap by serving as a resource person and by readily pointing teachers to sources which filled in their gaps in knowledge. In a few cases however, even the coordinator lacked expertise. (b) Some teachers had difficulty in recognizing or mastering the instructional strategies appropriate to the new curricula. We found some anecdotal illustrations of this problem:

> Most of these teachers feel that they are accomplished discussion leaders and that they won't have any trouble at all. But I know differently from the experience of having watched them. Many of these people are not the type of teacher that they think they are.
>
> --Staff meeting, 6/26/68

> Some of the participants in each group do not have a style of thinking that makes it possible to work with the Oliver materials. They do not appear to differentiate between empirical and moral questions. They think that some moral problems have right answers just like factual questions.
>
> --Staff meeting, 8/2/68

(c) Some teachers or subgroups appeared to acquire a sense of "ego involvement" or "pride of authorship" in the materials they developed. Such involvement tended to be incompatible with careful development of materials, as shown in the following:

> There is a built-in behavior pattern. You get the lesson plan. Then the teacher changes it in the teaching of it. The author sees that. He knows that his lesson plan is going to be changed, in the teaching of it. Therefore, he doesn't feel compelled to do a really good job because he feels that whatever he does, the teacher is going to change it anyhow to fit his own personality...It's discouraging to think you have created a really good lesson plan and the other guy doesn't even pay attention to it.
>
> --Staff meeting, 10/7/68

> Apparently that group perceived the precritique as a very threatening kind of occurrence which closed off their options and in a sense didn't make it possible for them to go ahead with what they (had developed).
>
> --Staff meeting, 8/2/68

(d) Commitment to the Project, and to the summer workshops in particular, varied among teachers. A few teachers displayed excessive absenteeism, tardiness, or "goofing off"; other teachers were demoralized by such activity. In the 1969 summer workshops the Project Director finally issued a clear statement about the expectations for participation in the workshops. (e) Leadership within some of the subgroups was sometimes deficient. Some leadership defects were associated with unclear or misdirected instructions. Most of the participants in the 1967 workshop at field station #1, for example, felt that they wasted too much time that could have been spent on the development of materials. Participants in the 1968 workshop at field station #2 spent two weeks revising the curriculum that they planned to pilot; then they were told that their prime task was to augment the curriculum materials with which they were working. Some leadership defects stemmed from the field station coordinators' efforts to transfer responsibility from themselves to the other members of the field stations, as illustrated in the following analysis made by one of the coordinators:

> I led the critique sessions for the most part, but as the time went on I asked various group members to be responsible for leading critique sessions. This worked well and served to help transfer authority and responsibility from me to members of the group...The autonomy allowed the unit groups both encouraged individuals to take and use their own initiative, and to evade responsibility and avoid decision making... Probably, too, the autonomy resulted in considerable wasted motion as people floundered about trying to decide what they should be doing. On the other hand, it is probable that this has convinced a number of individuals that the basic responsibility for the organization, direction, and success of the pilot program and its diffusion to the radial schools is theirs....
>
> --Coordinator's Report, Summer, 1968

4. External factors beyond the control of the field stations influenced the development phase. Here, as in the preceding section, we shall simply enumerate some of the external problems which were encountered: (a) Materials from the new social science curriculum projects sometimes were difficult to obtain in useable form or at the time required for development. Some of the materials selected for development were not yet in published form; copyright

issues sometimes slowed down the development process. (b) The summer school classes which were used as resources for the development process were often composed of students who were different from the types of students who would be encountered in the pilot classes. (c) The pattern of external funding disrupted the schedule for development. The fourth field station, for instance, was started late in the spring, 1969; part of the 1969 summer session had to be used to complete the analysis phase. The expectation that funds would terminate in mid-year, 1970-71, probably contributed to the de-emphasis upon development during the 1970 summer workshops.

5. As the Project progressed, the summer workshops assumed functions in addition to development. In each field station the first summer workshop did exemplify the design outlined in the Project proposal, i.e., the preparation of teaching units and daily lesson plans in anticipation of the pilot classes to be offered the following year. (In the field station #4 there was a minor deviation: part of the first summer was used to complete the analysis phase of activity.) In subsequent summer workshops one or both of two additional functions were assumed. These were (1) training project and/or nonproject teachers to utilize the curricula piloted the previous year, and (2) training, or preparing to train, nonproject teachers in several phases of the implementation process (analysis, development, pilot, diffusion). As the Project progressed, more and more field station personnel became involved in these nondevelopment summer activities.

Assessment of the Development Phase

In many respects the developmental activities of the Implementation Project conformed to the Project design. The Project has reinforced the idea that there is a real need for developmental activity if the new social science curricula are to be utilized effectively.[1] Project participants sometimes found that they needed to overcome deficiencies in background knowledge, or that they needed to learn new teaching strategies, or that they needed to prepare new materials in order to link new curricula to each other (as in the case of the field stations which attempted to "marry" the Fenton and Oliver curricula) or to existing curricula, or that they needed to modify curricula in order to make them consistent with the rationales developed in the analysis phase. The following comments from project participants illustrate the perceived need for development:

> They've taken notes on the critiques...They've done some revision based on what's happened. For example, when J___ taught his lesson today, it was totally different from what he intended two days ago to teach. Because of the discussion we had yesterday. And that kind of improvement, by the way, is really there. Some great things that are happening to the teaching. They way they think of questions that they themselves raised in the critiques. I don't think it's ever going to show up in a report, but it's there.
>
> --Field Station Coordinator, 6/19/68

> Even though there was some confusion as to the direction in which we were headed, the accomplishments were many...At the subgroup level we worked on specific units analyzing and adding where necessary materials that should (1) enhance student attitudes, i.e., awareness, interest, ability to respond; (2) cognitive growth and understanding, and (3) additional teaching strategies and materials. (sic) The subgroup became more knowledgeable about Nigeria--its history, culture, needs, etc. Frankly I was really unaware of the background and my information about Nigeria had been limited to the news media reports on the Civil War.
>
> --Field Station Teacher, Summer, 1968

> I believe the experience of writing a unit of work is going to be most helpful to our school district where we can now help in writing units and take some leadership in curriculum development.
>
> --Field Station Teacher, Summer, 1969

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[1] The experimental method will have to be used to arrive at any definitive conclusions of the importance of a developmental period. It should be possible to design an experiment in which two groups of teachers--one which has had an opportunity to engage in the development process and one which has not--attempt to implement identical new curricula. Assuming that the dependent variables can be properly defined and measured, we hypothesize that the former group will produce superior results. Such an experiment, unfortunately, was outside the scope of this evaluation.

Comments such as these were not uniform within or among field stations, but they appear with sufficient frequency to indicate that many people at least felt that the development phase was of great value.

The Project also illuminated a number of details of the development process--details which were not spelled out in the initial design. We refer to the use of subgroups within the field stations, the utilization of prepilot summer school students which added a reality-dimension to the development process, the efforts to train participants in leadership skills, and the identification of problems encountered by teachers as they try to adapt the materials and strategies of new curricula to their own situations.

On the negative side, the development phase clearly fell short of expectations in a number of areas. Evaluation materials were poorly developed. Many of the materials which would be required in the pilot phase were pulled together hastily and without the systematic development originally anticipated.

There are a number of factors which seem to warrant mention in an effort to understand the actual operation of the development phase. Among these, the following appear to us to be particularly significant:

1. Initial expectations about the outcomes of the development phase appear to have been unrealistically high, given the resources which were available. Under the best of circumstances, it is questionable whether a dozen teachers can satisfactorily develop an entire year's curriculum within the space of a six week program. Moreover, as shown in the above performance data, the development process was not operating under the best of circumstances; it was beset by internal and external problems which drained energies away from the central task of development. One of the clearest lessons to be learned from the Project is that teacher groups working on curriculum development should

include, or have available, a number of specialized personnel. These probably should include (a) group process specialists who can identify and resolve personal and interpersonal problems before they get out of hand, (b) subject matter specialists who can quickly help teachers remedy knowledge deficiencies, and (c) evaluation specialists who can locate or devise evaluation instruments.

2. Efforts to overcome problems sometimes generated new frustrations. There were two obvious examples:

(a) Decisions by some of the field stations to utilize classes of summer school students appeared to be a logical way to solve certain structural problems. One such problem was that of finding a way to teach field station personnel some of the teaching strategies necessitated by the new curricula. It is difficult to teach such strategies in the abstract (one field station experimented briefly with efforts to role-play but found the idea unsatisfactory); a logical solution was to make use of summer school classes. A second problem was that teachers sometimes found it difficult to plan realistically in the absence of students, as indicated in the following:

> We found that teachers could not plan and could not visualize things in the absence of teaching. They came up with some of the damndest plans you've ever seen. They just don't work. But there's no way to convince a teacher of that in the summer, because there's no ultimate test, i.e., no classroom.
>
> --Staff Member, 6/26/68

Here, too, the utilization of summer school classes made sense. Once created, however, the summer school classes introduced whole new sets of problems. For example, teaching on a daily basis drained energies away from the task of development. Moreover, the usual problems of the classroom--grades, absences, discipline--diverted attention from the central tasks of development.

(b) The decision to utilize subgroups within each field station seemed to be a sensible way to overcome the time problem; presumably two or three small groups could accomplish more than a single large group. However, new problems soon arose, e.g., subgroups found it difficult to familiarize themselves with the materials developed by other subgroups. Similarly the field station coordinator found it difficult to give satisfactory service, simultaneously, to several subgroups.

3. Some of the difficulties of the development phase are attributable to discrepancies among participants' views about the objectives of the Implementation Project.[1] (a) Some participants expected that the materials were going to be used in their own classrooms, perhaps even more broadly in their home districts; this expectation was strong incentive for ensuring that the materials were put into teachable form. (On the other hand there were some participants who knew that their districts were not going to adopt some of the pilot curricula; these participants could hardly have been expected to be terribly interested in extensive development of materials which would not affect them.) (b) Some members of some of the field stations believed that the materials which they were developing would be published--a belief which must have raised visions of royalties and fame. Anyone who held this belief would presumably want to invest a great deal of energy in the development process. On the contrary, those who did not share the dream, and those whose hopes and expectations were shattered, would presumably be less interested in the development phase. (c) A third group of participants saw the implementation project as a device to stimulate local school districts to establish their own curriculum implementation projects. In this view, the development process was useful only insofar as it served as a model of the implementation process, or as a training ground for those who would later establish or participate in other implementation projects. It was not necessary, in this view, to prepare

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[1] Some of the ideas in this section are based upon a paper prepared by Miss Jean Young, an Experienced Teacher Fellow who studies one of the field stations during 1968-69.

entire curricula for piloting; it was more important simply to learn about the problems of curriculum development. Moreover it was not important to labor over particular unit or daily plans, for these would have little bearing on future activities.

In general, it appears that view (b) was prevalent during the early days of the project, view (a) during the middle period of the Project, and view (c) during the final year or so. This progression in views helps account for the heavy emphasis upon development during the early part of the Project, and for the growing importance of nondevelopment activities in the 1969 and 1970 summer sessions.

Pilot Phase

Objective[1]

The initial proposal specified that one school within each field station was to be designated as the "pilot" or "field" school. In the year following each summer development phase, the two master teachers from the pilot school were to teach the new social studies curricula that had been selected in the analysis phase and adapted in the development phase. Teaching loads were to be reduced so that these master teachers would each have two classes (at the proper grade level) to teach; thus there were to be four pilot classrooms each year in each station for each curriculum that was being implemented. The master teachers in the pilot schools were to be primarily responsible for conducting the pilot teaching; however, they were to provide opportunities for the other master teachers in the field station to teach also. The pilot school master teachers were also charged with the responsibility of evaluating the pilot curriculum, presumably using evaluation plans worked out in the preceding development phase. The other members of the field station, in addition to occasional teaching of the pilot class, were to help with the evaluation, revise materials on the basis of experience in the pilot, and otherwise prepare for diffusion into the radial schools the following year.

Performance Data

1. Each field station conducted a pilot phase; however, the number and location of the pilot classrooms frequently deviated from the initial design (four classrooms for each curriculum, with all four in the pilot school). Table 7 briefly summarizes data on the pilot phase through 1969-70. Field station #1 most closely conformed to the original model, although there were only three classrooms for each curriculum piloted. Field station #3 also

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[1] Proposal, 7/67, p. 47.

stayed reasonably close to the initial model, although several members of this field station "unofficially" taught the materials in their own classrooms in the period initially scheduled for the pilot phase. Field station #2 and field station #4 completely abandoned the idea of restricting the pilot phase to one school; in these stations all teachers taught the new materials in the year following the summer development phase.

Table 7. SUMMARY OF PILOT DATA

Field Station	Date	Pilot Description
#1	1967-68	9th grade; 3 classrooms in the pilot school.
	1968-69	10th grade; 3 classrooms in the pilot school.
	1969-70	11th grade; 3 classrooms in the pilot school.
#2	1968-69	4th grade; 11 field station teachers piloting in their own rooms.
	1969-70	4th-6th grades; 13 pilot classrooms
#3	1968-69	10th grade; 4 classrooms in the pilot school; several "unofficial" pilot classes by other field station teachers
	1969-70	11th grade;
#4	1969-70	7th grade; all field station teachers piloting in their own rooms.

2. Systematic evaluation techniques were not utilized during the pilot phase. Standard instruments and teacher-made instruments were occasionally employed to assess student learnings. Staff members repeatedly asserted the importance of evaluation. Yet we found little evidence that data was systematically collected and we found no evidence that available data were employed as a means for evaluating the adequacy of the curricula being piloted. Evaluation was largely based upon teachers' subjective impressions of student responses.

3. The initial plan for critique sessions was abandoned. (The initial plan, it will be recalled, specified that all field station teachers would be

present in the pilot classroom where they would observe the pilot teacher's teaching and subsequently critique it.) No field station conducted critique sessions on a daily basis. Our field notes indicate that when observation of teaching actually did occur, it was often characterized by inattention on the part of the observers. A pilot teacher in one of the field stations was observed to simply walk out of the critique sessions. In another station the members voted formally to suspend the critique sessions for a period of several weeks. One station attempted to substitute video-taping for live classroom observation; later this too was abandoned, and the coordinator accepted responsibility for observing and critiquing the classroom performance of field station teachers. In establishing the fourth field station, the problems of critiquing were formally acknowledged by the Project director when he sought a budgetary adjustment which would permit teachers to be released on a half-time basis; such an arrangement would make it possible for all of the teachers to function as pilot teachers, and to arrange for smaller numbers of observers in the pilot classroom.

4. External factors sometimes complicated the pilot phase. One set of external problems stemmed from characteristics of the pilot school setting. In one field station these problems apparently were of such severity that a decision was finally made to move the pilot from one district to another. The problems included serious illness on the part of one of the pilot teachers, an apparent lack of administrative interest and support (traceable in part to administrative turnover within the district, in part to district preoccupation with tax problems, and in part to the Project's early failure to seek out administrative interest and support), lack of suitable work space and facilities, pilot classes which were excessively large and difficult to control, and a community setting which was not always appropriate to the curriculum materials being piloted (e.g., units dealing with race relations were being piloted in

an all-white school).

A second external problem stemmed from the fact that many of the materials selected for piloting had not been published; others were developed within the field stations themselves. A consequence was that vast quantities of materials had to be duplicated for use in the pilot classrooms, particularly in those stations where all teachers served as pilot teachers. Difficulty in assuring availability of materials was a frequent cause of concern and complaint during the pilot phase. The problem was aggravated by the fact that the development phase was proceeding simultaneously with the pilot phase; some units were not ready to teach until just a few days before they were scheduled for use--too little time to allow for reproduction of materials.

5. Despite the problems encountered, the pilot phase yielded insights and conclusions about the new curricula which supplemented those of the previous phases. The following statement by a field station coordinator illustrates this point:

> Watch those Fenton lesson plans. You want to do some careful thinking about them, because some of them don't come off. And some of them have objectives that are not really realizable from the materials that are there. And you don't discover that until you start teaching it.
>
> --Staff meeting, summer, 1968

Efforts were made in each field station to establish filing systems in which such insights could be filed for future consideration. However, the solutions to some problems were not so obvious. For example, late in 1968 we observed one field station meeting in which the teachers appeared to reach a conclusion (based largely upon their subjective observations of student interest and knowledge) that their initial decision to combine two new curricula was wrong--that the entire curriculum should be rearranged. However, it was already too late to begin the pilot anew, and so the problem was dropped.

Assessment of the Pilot Phase

Overall, the pilot phase bore scant resemblance to the activities projected in the original design for the Implementation Project. In three of the field stations the pilots were not limited to pilot classrooms; two of these stations didn't even designate a pilot school. Systematic critiquing of lessons at the pilot stage was rare, as was systematic evaluation. Moreover, as we indicate elsewhere in this chapter, the development and diffusion phases pre-empted large portions of the time initially scheduled for pilot activities.

There seem to be two major classes of reasons for the discrepancy between the original design and the actual operation of the pilot phase. One set of reasons stems from flaws in the design itself. For example, it appears that the design was based upon the assumption that participating teachers would be operating in departmentalized settings (i.e., those typical of high schools). However, in one of the field stations the teachers worked in self-contained classrooms; in this case it simply wasn't feasible to arrange schedules so that teachers from the radial schools could meet daily at the pilot schools. A second design problem was the assumption that within each field station all the teachers would be teaching at the same grade level, and that they all could move up one grade level for each year of the Project. Such an assumption was not only unrealistic in terms of administration within local schools; it also failed to consider the fact that some teachers were not qualified or interested in teaching at three grade levels. This factor was probably instrumental in the decisions by three stations not to do any major piloting in 1970-71.

A second major class of reasons for the deviation from initial expectation in the pilot phase is best labeled "unanticipated problems." There were a number of these. One was that curriculum evaluation was far more complex and difficult than the Project's designers or participants initially realized. When budget cuts were necessitated by outside factors, and when curriculum evaluation specialists proved to be hard to locate, the easy solution was adopted: funds for a curriculum evaluation specialist were cut out of the budget. Evaluation responsibilities were subsequently assigned to subcommittees within each field station. While these groups appear to have worked diligently on occasion, they ultimately failed to produce useable evaluation strategies or instruments. A second unanticipated problem was the lack of useful strategies for critiquing the classroom performance of experienced teachers. The coordinators' own awareness of this problem emerged during a staff meeting in October 1968, as shown in the following excerpts from a tape of the meeting:

> (A) problem...is the feeling on the part of many teachers that they are not competent...to do a critique on...teaching, much beyond the level of "well, the lesson seemed to work well" or "it didn't seem to work well" or "you missed this part" or "you didn't miss that part" or "this is a cloudy day and the kids are restless today and the buses made a lot of noise outside and that was the reason why the lesson didn't work."
>
> There is no document, or set of constructs, or set of concepts... We have never developed anything in relation to analysis of teaching that could be taught to someone else. (The reason) things have gone along as well as they have is that you and I have had supervision experience, and we have a lost of intuitive questions that we ask. But we have never made these explicit. Maybe one of the reasons that teachers don't raise questions is exactly what you say: they don't have any questions to raise, beyond "the school buses are noisy today," "you didn't call on Joe when he had his hand up."
>
> That's an excellent point. I can recall them saying, "What do we ask?" "What are we doing this for?" In Fenton's terms, they didn't have the analytical questions in the back of their heads... I just realized it. My people have been telling me...I didn't know it.
>
> The normal supervisor (of practice teachers) focuses on nonsense. At least from the point of view of experienced teachers it's nonsense. It's the kind of thing having to do with raising hands. It's peripheral things...They focus on what they call survival techniques, for practice teachers...We are handling a different set of problems; we oughtn't worry about survival techniques.
>
> --Staff meeting, fall, 1968

In the following weeks the coordinators attempted to identify useful critique strategies, but nothing concrete emerged from their efforts. This problem compounded a third unanticipated problem: the critique sessions were inherently stressful for the pilot teachers. Supervision is stressful under normal circumstances. In the Implementation Project circumstances were not normal. Large numbers of observers were present, day after day. The observers were working colleagues rather than remote administrators. Moreover the behavior being observed was new and unpracticed; the pilot teachers were using new materials and new teaching strategies and at the same time were on public display. All of this, coupled with the recognition that suitable observation strategies were not available, created stress that was ultimately disfunctional, as indicated in the following statement by one of the coordinators:

> One of the interesting things that has happened with my group is that several of them privately have talked with me about (one of the pilot teachers). They feel he is missing crucial clues. I think they are right. And he is one of the best teachers we've got. Of course, I think he is under a strain. He so badly wants this thing to go that he has adopted a different personality than his normal personality. He is a very good teacher as long as he is not so upset about a set of people sitting in the back of the room writing down notes. As soon as they come in, he stiffens. We have let him alone several times....
>
> --Field Station Coordinator, 10/7/68

A fourth unanticipated problem stemmed from the time squeeze produced by the development and diffusion phases. We have already noted that the development phase was not completed in the summer period; hence a great deal of time initially scheduled for pilot activities had to be diverted to preparation of materials for piloting. Moreover, as we shall show in the next section, the diffusion phase was accelerated; it too ate into the time initially scheduled for piloting.

Diffusion Phase

Objective

The fourth and final phase of the implementation process was diffusion. The Project proposal envisioned a number of diffusion activities. The first and most important of these was to be the installation of the piloted curricula in the radial schools of each field station. By the end of the second year each radial school teacher would have had an opportunity to learn, to observe, and to practice the use of a new curriculum. During the third year each of these teachers was expected to install the new social studies curriculum in his classroom. Other members of his field station, particularly the pilot teachers and the coordinator, were to provide assistance to the radial school teachers as they installed the new curricula in their own classrooms in their home schools. The proposal suggests that radial school teachers also would diffuse the new curriculum to other teachers in their buildings and districts. However, no explicit provisions were made for such diffusion with the Project design; apparently such diffusion was envisioned as a post-Project phenomenon.

A second type of diffusion rested on the assumption that field station teachers would have learned the curriculum implementation process itself during field station activities. The teachers thus were expected to be able to lead the implementation process within their own districts. Presumably groups of teachers would be assembled in each district; Project alumni would function as coordinators in such groups, which would select their own curriculum for development, pilot, and diffusion. This type of diffusion was expected to occur after the termination of the Title III Project; within the Project the objective was simply to prepare the field station teachers to assume such leadership roles within their own districts.

A third type of diffusion concerned the Implementation Project itself. The Project was viewed as a demonstration of a model for achieving curriculum reform; information about the Project was to be widely disseminated to educators in other parts of the nation.

Performance Data

1. New social studies curricula were installed in the radial schools and in other schools. Data concerning the extent of such installation are presented in Chapter V.

2. Radial school teachers received little on-site assistance from other members of their field stations during the diffusion phase. Original expectations that field station members would provide on-site assistance to each other were thwarted by problems of scheduling, transportation difficulties, the abandonment of formal critique sessions during the pilot phase, and emphasis upon development.

3. As the Project progressed, emphasis shifted from diffusion of new social studies curricula to diffusion of the curriculum implementation model. During 1968 and 1969 there seems to have been widespread acceptance of the idea that the primary output of the Project would be curriculum materials which would be installed in area schools. Presumably the materials would be those which were selected, developed and piloted in the field stations. However late in 1969 attention shifted to diffusion of the curriculum implementation model. This meant that field station teachers needed to master not only the new curricula used in the field station; they also had to master the implementation process itself so that they could lead the process within their home districts, using whatever curricula seemed appropriate. During 1968-69 the field station coordinators had considerable doubts about the teachers' capacity to manage such tasks. However, during 1969-70 a consensus emerged among the coordinators: emphasis would be shifted away from curriculum diffusion to preparation of the field station teachers to conduct the implementation process within their home schools.

4. Summer workshops for nonproject teachers became an important part of the diffusion process within the Implementation Project. The initial proposal for the Implementation Project specified that summer workshops were to be focused on materials development and training activities in preparation for the pilot phase; the workshops were to be oriented exclusively to the needs of field station teachers. However, during 1967-68 and again in 1968-69, when there was heavy emphasis on the importance of teaching non-Project teachers to use the new curricula, an unanticipated problem was identified: the proposal made no provision for training non-Project teachers in the participating schools to use the new curricula. Yet such training was needed if the new curricula were to be widely utilized. It did not appear that the field station teachers could provide the training during the academic year, for there were already too many things to do. Moreover, access to non-Project teachers was difficult to achieve. Therefore, it was decided to bring non-Project teachers into the summer workshops, where they would learn about the strategies and materials which had been piloted. A workshop was conducted by field station #1 on a trial basis in 1968. At that time field station #1 had just completed its 9th grade pilot phase. One of the Project teachers was designated as workshop leader; he trained six non-Project teachers in the utilization of the Oliver materials. The training was conducted by actually teaching a ninth grade class. (The other members of the field station, meanwhile, worked on the development of the tenth grade materials, as originally scheduled.) The logistics of this summer workshop were extremely complicated. Non-Project teachers had to be recruited. A class of ninth grade students had to be constructed. Arrangements had to be made with a University so that graduate credit could be earned in the workshop; these arrangements required, among other things, the designation of University personnel to supervise the workshop. Payments to the participating teachers had to be solicited (they had not been provided in the Title III budget).

Instructional materials had to be provided. Finally, of course, the activities of the workshop participants had to be programmed. The final pattern called for joint teaching in the mornings, with critique and planning sessions in the afternoon.

Despite these complexities, the 1968 summer workshop for nonproject teachers was deemed to be successful enough to warrant replication. In 1969 three additional workshops--one each in field stations #1, #2, and #3--were arranged. In 1970 field stations #2, #3, and #4 sponsored summer workshops. (By 1970 the summer workshops had taken on an additional function: they provided settings whereby field station members could learn and practice the skills of curriculum implementation.) A total of 33 non-Project teachers attended the 1969 and 1970 workshops. Additional enrollees included Project teachers who were just joining a field station, and graduate students from Washington University. These workshops were conducted concurrently with development workshops for Project teachers.

5. Field station teachers and coordinators participated in inservice training programs conducted by member schools. In the Spring of 1970, teachers from two-thirds of the schools participating in field stations #1, #2, and #3 reported that they had directed some sort of inservice activity within their home districts. It is difficult to generalize about these activities, as each school developed its own distinct procedures for inservice activities. However, we are able to present some anecdotal data which suggests the range of inservice activities in which Project teachers participated. One bit of data comes from a memo sent to a district assistant superintendent by the district's social studies coordinator (not a Project teacher):

> One of the most significant accomplishments of the social studies committees this year has been the formulation of a written rationale which reflects the thinking behind the goals and objectives of the social studies program in the schools...

> We are most fortunate in having two of our elementary teachers as members of the Title III St. Louis-St. Louis County Social Studies Project. These teachers are relieved from their regular classroom duties every Friday. They meet at the CEMREL building in St. Ann at the Title III office, with teachers from other districts, in order to evaluate new programs in elementary social studies, to pilot those programs they consider to be most promising and to write teacher's guides and supplementary units.
>
> After piloting units in their own classrooms, Leslie and Donna have conducted workshops for the members of the Elementary Social Studies Committee. The committee consists of one lead teacher in each of our elementary schools. These teachers have met on the average of twice a month from 3:45 to 5:30 and, in addition, have received released time consisting of one full day and four half days, which were spent on techniques of teaching selective Berlak units from Washington University (Mexico, Nigeria, and Russia).
>
> --Intra-district memo, 6/1/70

An alternative form of inservice activity by Project participants was exemplified in a one-day workshop conducted by a field station coordinator and two Project teachers on December 5, 1968. The coordinator made a presentation concerning the national ferment in social studies curricula. Then the two project teachers described the work of the field station, paying particular attention to the features of the curricula being implemented. In still another district, one of the members of the field station was not a regular classroom teacher; instead she functioned as a district "special services teacher," which permitted her to demonstrate the new curricula in a number of classes and to help classroom teachers utilize the curricula.

Unfortunately, such systematic utilization of Project personnel was not evident in all of the districts which participated in the Project. In a few schools Project personnel viewed themselves as voices in the wilderness, unable to secure the support of their administrators for inservice activity and unable to reach their colleagues in other classrooms. Here, more than anywhere else, the Project paid a price for (a) its inability to assure that participating districts were fully committed to the Project, and (b) its failure to build bridges to key administrative personnel during the early phases of the Project. Although our data are admittedly sparse, and our criteria imprecise, we venture an estimate that 20-25% of the Project teachers were operating in school environments which offered little support for efforts to diffuse new social studies curricula beyond their own classrooms.

6. *The Implementation Project prepared and produced materials designed to help non-Project personnel implement the new social studies curricula*. During the 1969 and 1970 summer workshop, personnel from field station #2 wrote *Points of Discovery: A Guide for Implementing the Social Studies*. *Points of Discovery* is designed as a handbook for practitioners; it includes chapters describing the need for curriculum reform in the social studies, teaching strategies frequently utilized in the new curricula, techniques for analyzing new curricula, and information about the new curricula available from the national curriculum projects. A special slide tape was prepared to accompany the handbook. A second publication stemming from the Project was written by one of the field station coordinators. This document, titled *An Approach to Selecting Among Social Studies Curricula*, is essentially the Curriculum Analysis *Handbook* visualized during the formative period of the Implementation Project. The paper describes the characteristics of the social studies curriculum reform movement, presents the need for a systematic implementation strategy, and discusses in detail the issues and problems that must be faced in the implementation process. In addition to the above materials, the Implementation Project distributed many of the curriculum units which were developed in the field stations. These units, which were built around the materials prepared by the national curriculum projects, include lesson plans, resource materials, and suggested teaching strategies. By November, 1969, field station #1 had prepared more than a dozen units for distribution. Field station #2 had prepared one

original unit and several packets of supplemental materials to accompany the Berlak-Tomlinson curriculum being developed at Washington University; however, copyright problems made it impossible to distribute these materials to non-Project schools. Field station #3 eventually submitted a few units for distribution; however, the central staff is doubtful that the materials are sufficiently advanced to warrant distribution. Field station #4, at this writing, has not existed long enough to have prepared substantial curriculum materials.

7. Information about the Implementation Project was disseminated. We noted the following devices which were used to inform educators about the design and operation of the Implementation Project:

a. Newsletters--The Fall, 1968, issue of the Metropolitan St. Louis Social Studies Center Newsletter featured the Title III Project. In September, 1969, the Implementation Project published its own Newsletters--one describing the Project as a whole and one on each of the field stations. These newsletters were sent to some 800 addresses, including 250 outside the St. Louis metropolitan area. Additional coverage of the Project was obtained in a brief article in the Summer, 1968, issue of the CEMREL Newsletter, which reaches an audience of about 12,000 educators and public officials. The newsletters appear to have generated substantial interest in the Project; sever Project participants reported that they first heard about the Project through the newsletters.

b. Press coverage--Local newspapers, particularly school newspapers, occasionally mentioned the Project. However, the mass media in St. Louis failed to respond to the central staff's modest efforts to obtain widespread local publicity.

c. Conventions--The Implementation Project was presented at the Houston annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies (Fall, 1969). Displays were prepared and booths were manned at two regional teachers association meetings (November, 1969, and March, 1970). However, these were modest efforts;

the Project failed to arrange the conferences planned in the original proposal.

d. Correspondence--Project files contain scores of inquiries from throughout the nation about the Implementation Project. Mimeographed materials providing an overview of the Project were prepared as partial responses to such inquiries.

e. School staff meetings--Project participants, particularly in the high school field stations, report that they made presentations about the Implementation Project to their school colleagues during faculty meetings.

8. The Implementation Project encouraged direct observation of field station activities by non-Project personnel. All Project publicity emphasized the opportunity for visitors to observe field station activities. Although no systematic records were kept, our data indicate that large numbers of visitors were channeled through the director's office to the field stations. One of the field stations prepared a video tape giving an overview and orientation to the Project.

The Project afforded unusual opportunities for teacher trainees to observe the implementation process and to examine the new social studies curricula. However, among area institutions of higher education, only Washington University made any systematic efforts to expose preservice teachers to the Project. In addition, two groups of Social Studies Experienced Teacher Fellows utilized the Implementation Project as a laboratory setting; several of the Fellows participated in Project activities and prepared papers dealing with various phases of Project activity. In addition several doctoral students at Washington University were involved in the Project--some as staff members in the summer workshops, some as consultants, and some as analysts of the Implementation Project.

Early plans to develop a regional internship program within the Project never materialized.

Assessment of the Diffusion Phase

The Project altered its initial goals for the diffusion phase. The initial intent was simply to install new curricula in the classrooms of the radial school teachers and to train field station teachers (by taking them through the implementation process) to become curriculum implementors in their own districts. In practice, however, the Project assumed responsibility for diffusing new curricula beyond the classrooms of the field station teachers. Moreover, through its support of summer workshops for non-Project teachers, its participation in district inservice programs, and its preparation of materials to help Project teachers become change agents (e.g., Points of Discovery, An Approach to Selecting Among Social Studies Curricula) the Project attempted to go beyond its initial objective in the area of teacher training.

Several factors impelled the Project to alter its initial goals of diffusion. The desire to broadly diffuse the curricula used in the Project appears to have stemmed from pressures emanating from the State Department of Education, from the Board of Directors, and from the field station teachers themselves; all were interested in accelerating and maximizing dissemination of new materials. Participants were not content with the idea that the Project's responsibilities ended with the installation of new curricula in the classrooms of the radial school teachers from each field station. Broad-scale installation thus became a major objective.

Later emphasis upon preparation of Project teachers as change agents stemmed from a different set of circumstances. One was that some Project participants were not particularly interested in the specific new curricula which were utilized within the field stations; these participants were more interested in fostering curriculum change utilizing other materials. Such individuals stressed the importance of learning to become change agents, and de-emphasized their concern with the particular materials used in the Project. A second impetus for the emphasis on training participants as change agents appears to have stemmed from frustrations encountered in efforts to diffuse Project materials. For example, the summer workshops did't attract many teachers. Copyright and reproduction problems, lack of success in developing diffusable materials, and school resistance to curriculum diffusion were also frustrating; emphasis upon the preparation of **techniques** to support the change process was a constructive compensatory activity.

We suspect, although we cannot fully demonstrate, that the Project paid a certain price for its efforts to exceed its initial diffusion goals. For example, we found occasional expressions of concern that materials were being diffused to teachers who were not properly trained in their utilization. This is a common phenomenon, but it is one which the Project was explicitly intended to avoid. Moreover, the heavy emphasis upon diffusion activities inevitably entailed some sacrifices in other phases of the implementation process. In previous sections we noted two types of implementation activities--evaluation and revision of materials--which were slighted in the field stations; perhaps less attention to diffusion would have permitted more attention to these activities. The summer workshops for non-Project teachers consumed enormous energies among Project administrators, particularly in view of the low enrollments in the workshops. The resources used to manage these workshops might have been put to alternate uses. On the other hand, emphasis on large-scale diffusion appears to have been an important factor in sustaining the interest and commitment of Project personnel.

Chapter V

PROJECT OUTCOMES

The preceding chapters have focused on the extent to which the Implementation Project achieved its goals of (1) establishing field stations, and (2) carrying out the implementation process. We have said that in both of these areas the Project achieved a considerable measure of success, despite the fact that many obstacles had to be overcome and despite the fact that the initial design of the Project had to be modified in some respects.

To the extent that the Project's first two tasks were successfully accomplished, three types of outcomes were expected. The first and least tangible of these was participants' mastery and acceptance of the curriculum implementation process utilized in the Project. A major intent of the Project was to teach the field station teachers the skills required in each of the four stages of the implementation process, and to convince these teachers (and others) of the utility of the model. A second outcome was to be the alteration of school district curriculum decision-making structures; such alteration might involve utilization of Project-trained teachers in existing structures or it might involve discernible changes in the decision-making structure or process, or it might involve both. In any case, the Project was to be judged not only upon its ability to train curriculum decision-makers, but also upon the extent to which the Project affected change mechanisms among participating organizations. The third and most tangible outcome of the Implementation Project was to be the introduction of new social studies curricula in the classrooms of metropolitan St. Louis. Succeeding sections of this chapter present data bearing on each of these three types of Project outcomes.

Several precautions should be observed in considering the data reported in this chapter. First, in the absence of a tight experimental design, we cannot be absolutely sure that the Implementation Project was the agent which caused the outcomes which we shall be attributing to it. Second, the outcomes which are reported here are those which were visible by the summer of 1970; we have no way of knowing whether these outcomes will persist beyond the termination of our study or of the Title III funding period. Third, the peculiarities of field station #4--particularly its uncertain and belated start--made us decide to ignore it in collecting data for some parts of this chapter; we have no doubt that the station is producing outcomes, but it would have been premature and unjustifiably costly to seek them out for this report. We also did not seek comparable data from the City of St. Louis, which participated in field stations #2 and #3; both qualitatively and quantitatively the City Schools are so different from their neighbors that it seemed wisest to drop the District from our calculations. Fourth, most of our outcome data is non-quantitative. The evaluation staff initially had hopes of utilizing sophisticated designs which would get at the sophisticated types of changes which the Implementation Project was trying to produce. For example, our first evaluation plan called for the systematic collection of data which would allow us to measure changes in the decision-making criteria which teachers apply to new curricula; this plan had to be abandoned--partly because the Implementation Project itself failed to specify the precise skills it sought to teach (witness the three-year delay in creation of the Curriculum Analysis Handbook), partly because the requisite conceptual and measurement tools simply weren't available, and partly because the evaluation staff either underestimated the magnitude of its task or overestimated its own capacity to secure and analyze data. As a result of these factors, much of the data presented in this chapter is anecdotal, i.e., unquantified and unreplicable. In retrospect, we think that our heavy dependence upon the testimony of participants and upon our own observations had produced a truer picture of the Project's outcomes than could have been produced through more rigorous analytical techniques, for the Project's outcomes varied so widely from one participant to another, and were so dependent upon local conditions, that quantitative data would have been virtually meaningless.

Participants' Mastery and Acceptance of the Implementation Process

As initially conceived, the Implementation Project was in large part a training program for prospective curriculum leaders. The expected outcomes of the training program were mastery of the skills of implementation and acceptance of the Project's implementation model as a desirable vehicle for implementing new social studies curricula. These outcomes were to be accomplished not by telling the field station teachers about the model, but rather by having them carry out all its operations--analysis, development, pilot, and diffusion. We have already described the manner in which the training program was executed.

Performance Data

One important source of data regarding participants' mastery and acceptance of the implementation model is found in the participants' own testimony. During the spring semester, 1970, the evaluation staff conducted lengthy interviews with field station teachers. These interviews included questions designed to elicit statements about the kinds of changes that had occurred in participants' instructional and curricular decision-making habits. Following is the testimony provided by the teachers in field station #2:

> I feel fairly adequate (as a curriculum decision-maker in social studies). At least I feel that I am aware of what I don't know. I'm sure that there are a lot of programs on the market that I'm not adequately acquainted with, but before I didn't even know--wasn't aware of my lack of knowledge. I just wasn't even aware of the things that were being done. So now at least I have a feeling of some adequacy in this field. . . I think that my class is far less teacher-oriented now as a result of this. I am much more open to letting the children debate and also attempting to see other views than my own, which is paramount because that's

what we want them to do. I think (I am) placing a much greater emphasis on behavioral things rather than cognitive. I have never been one to degrade knowledge; I still think that's vital. They need some body of knowledge, but (now) it has a purpose; it serves as evidence now, rather than just an accumulation of facts. . .

--Interview, Field Station #2, Spring, 1970

I feel I'm pretty well able to (make curriculum decisions). Since being in the Project I have really learned a great deal more about it, and I do feel I'm as well able as any of the other teachers, or probably more so than the others in the district, outside of R___ who has been in the Project too. We feel we have done a lot more reading and thinking about that than the ordinary teacher does. . . I think also I have become a better teacher as far as analyzing what I am saying to the children in leading discussions--the type of questions I asked. Even though you've done this kind of work for a long time, you just don't analyze your own teaching until you get into a project like this--self evaluation, I guess you'd call it.

--Interview, Field Station #2, Spring, 1970

(Q: How would you assess your present ability to make curricular decisions?) 100% better than when I started teaching! I feel I still have a lot to learn. In the past year I feel that I've increased my ability through the project and through what we did last summer in developing the Handbook, and actually analyzing the new curriculum that we got hold of. . . And now getting ready to present this workshop this summer, we have to know what's in (the new curricula) and we have to know how to analyze them to present them to other teachers.

--Interview, Field Station #2, Spring, 1970

I know how much I've learned in the past 2½ years and how much it has meant to me. Not only in the area of social studies--it has affected my teaching in every way, because I come from a very traditional school. . . With the experience I've had in the project, I feel as though I could make a pretty good decision (even in mathematics). . . My teaching and also my confidence in what I'm doing and in myself, and also the reasons I'm doing what I'm doing have all become much clearer to me. . . I think that I'm more qualified to make decisions. I think I'm more qualified to handle a lot of the new strategies. Also I'm not afraid to handle them--that's the big thing--but yet I'm not about to accept everything because it's new.

--Interview, Field Station #2, Spring, 1970

I have learned new techniques by which to teach. Not only social studies, but just teach period. . . I felt more relaxed in doing (new things) because somebody else was doing them. It has helped me broaden my teaching.

--Interview, Field Station #2, Spring, 1970

> (Q: The analysis stage gave you the skills and confidence to be able to implement and diffuse new curricula in your district?) Right. . . (Q: Personally, what have been some of the most beneficial aspects of your participation in the Project?) I suppose one of the greatest aspects has just been the working crossdistrict-wise--the opportunity for people in different districts to get together and share ideas and experiences. . . It's been intellectually stimulating.
>
> --Interview, Field Station #2, Spring, 1970

> (Q: How do you assess your present ability to make curriculum decisions?) Well, I think they're fairly good. I think it's possible to take any new curriculum and analyze it, and once you do that I think you're in a better position to make a decision. . . (Q: What can you do now that you couldn't do before?) I can respond to people that don't agree with me. I think that probably is it. Because if you work in our own district then you are involved in some things that happen there, like rationale and scope and sequence and your views of the learner. An then you put yourself in a position where nobody knows what you're talking about. You get all kinds of new questions. Maybe that's why my first year in the Project was so frustrating to me. I couldn't see why they didn't understand what I was talking about. But then I had to stand back and take another look and question it before I decided what I was going to teach.
>
> --Interview, Field Station #2, Spring, 1970

> (The Project has inspired me, and it's been interesting, very interesting. I learned from this new thing, and it has made me more aware of what I'm doing, even in the other skills that I teach, and (it has made me) examine the strategies in what I do.
>
> --Interview, Field Station #2, Spring, 1970

A number of tentative conclusions may be drawn from the foregoing data. First, these respondents were enthusiastic about the Project's benefits to them.[1]

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[1] We found similar enthusiasm, although it was less widespread, among a group of ex-participants who responded to a mailed questionnaire. Four of our fifteen respondents took advantage of our invitation to comment on the Project as follows:

> (After several criticisms) The above comment is offered in the interest of improving a project which I found to be the most stimulating experience of my professional life.
>
> Participation in the social studies project must be considered the outstanding opportunity of my professional career to date.
>
> I am a different person--a different teacher--because of the field station experience. It has been one of the most rewarding experiences in my young career.
>
> While I was an active member of the project I was rather dubious about the influence the project had had on me personally and might have on my district later after I returned to implement materials. I feel that the project was very worthwhile in light of what has transpired in my department and the district as a whole.

This enthusiasm is especially heartening in view of (1) the generally high calibre of participants, (2) the often negative attitudes which teachers display toward training programs, and (3) the lack of evidence that withdrawals from the project were precipitated by feelings that the Project had little value. In short, the participants seem to have felt that they gained something of real value from the project. Second, most respondents linked their roles as teachers and as curriculum implementors; i.e., they tended to talk about curriculum implementation not in abstract terms but rather in terms of its implications for their own performance as teachers. This phenomenon was very evident during our observations of behavior in the field stations, where teachers continually turned abstract questions toward issues of practice. It is difficult to assess this finding. On the positive side, it suggests that the Project avoided the pitfalls of "too much theory" and "too little practicality" which so often afflict teacher training programs. On the negative side, however, it suggests that the participants may not have intellectually grasped the intricacies of the implementation model and that they cannot clearly express its elements. If so, the teachers will be handicapped in their efforts to tell others of the characteristics and merits of the process. Even more serious is the fact that a few respondents had virtually nothing to say about the Project's merits as a curriculum dissemination device; all the benefits seemed to center on improvements in classroom teaching techniques. (The respondents who displayed little conception of the Project's implications for curriculum implementation tended to be those who participated in the Project for only a short period.) Balancing these negative interpretations is the possibility that our data may have been collected prematurely; the 1970 summer workshops, which the participants were directly involved in designing and operating, may have forced recognition and articulation of the Project's implications for curriculum implementation outside the participants' own classrooms. This speculation is given some weight by one of the participant's observations that "getting ready to present this workshop this summer, we have to know what's in (the new curricula) and we have to know how to analyze them to present them to other teachers." A third conclusion is the revelation of an unplanned but highly desirable outcome: some of the respondents noted the importance of working with teachers from diverse backgrounds in the field station setting, and implied that this interaction dimension would be helpful in subsequent dissemination efforts.

Our interview schedule included a question designed to elicit statements indicative of participants' attitudes toward the implementation model. The question asked whether participants would "recommend that all persons who intend to teach the new materials go through the same stages of analysis, development, and piloting that you have?" Among our fourteen respondents in field stations #1 and #3, four gave an unqualified "Yes"; seven gave a qualified "Yes"; two said "No", and one didn't answer. Most of the qualifications focused on the feasibility rather than the desirability of the implementation process; the teachers were obviously aware of the difficulties of replicating the implementation process for everyone. We interpret this data positively: teachers accepted the model but were skeptical that the resources necessary for its replication would be available--a skepticism heavily reinforced by the actions of legislators and project administrators at the state and national levels.

Additional data about participant mastery and acceptance of the implementation process is implicit in some of the activities of Project participants. For example, the implementation handbook, Points of Discovery, prepared by field station #2, places heavy emphasis upon the questions and techniques foreshadowed by the early efforts of field station #1 and eventually made explicit in the

Curriculum Analysis Handbook. A second and very powerful piece of data is evident in the design of the 1970 summer workshops. These workshops, which were largely run by Project teachers, were far more sophisticated than the conventional workshop which is designed to "acquaint" new teachers with one or more new curricula. One of the workshops, for example, specified the following goals:

1. To become familiar with several new social studies programs recently developed by projects throughout the country
2. To observe and compare three social studies curricula reflecting three differing rationales--actually being taught
3. To observe new social studies strategies, to teach them, and to experience them in personal learning situations
4. To clarify possible criteria for selecting social studies for their own classrooms

The emphasis on rationales, on direct participation, on strategies, and on selection criteria is a direct outgrowth of the implementation project design.

It is difficult, and perhaps even unwise, to summarize findings such as those reported above. Nonetheless, we venture the following conclusions about the Project participants' mastery and acceptance of the implementation process. First, most participants developed very positive attitudes toward the general features of the implementation model. They liked it and asserted that they had benefited from it. Second, at the same time they displayed a healthy skepticism about the model as employed in the Project; most of the skepticism rested upon some quite reasonable doubts about the interest or ability of school districts to provide conditions under which the model could be operated. As a result, participants tended to look for ways of simplifying or short-circuiting the model. Third, many project participants (as of spring, 1970) had failed to achieve a conceptual grasp of the details of the implementation process, particularly the crucial analysis phase.

Assessment

The Implementation Project appears to have been more successful in securing participant acceptance of the implementation process than in securing participant mastery of the process. Participants' enthusiasm for the model is highly encouraging; without it mastery of skills would be pointless. We attribute favorable attitudes toward the model to the following factors: its intrinsic merits, its apparent superiority over other implementation processes familiar to teachers, the "kicks" that Project teachers achieved from participation in the Project (i.e., the Hawthorne effect), and, not least, the fact that the participants had actually operated the model and had proved to their own satisfaction that it worked. We anticipate that these favorable attitudes will persist among Project alumni, that they will raise levels of dissatisfaction with conventional curriculum implementation processes, and that this dissatisfaction will have beneficial consequences long after the demise of the Project itself.

The fact that we were unable to show a comparable level of achievement in the area of mastering implementation process skills may simply be an artifact of weaknesses in evaluation design or strategy. We acknowledge this possibility. But at the same time we suspect that the Project fell short of its stated goals in skill training. There are many factors which may account for this failure. First, the goals were probably unrealistic; given the tasks to be performed, and the difficulties of performing them, the Project simply didn't have enough resources to assure that each participant fully mastered the details of the implementation model. Second, the details were not sufficiently spelled out at the inception of the Project; many elements of the implementation process did not become clear until the process was under way. The tardy development of the Handbook reflects this problem. Third, many of the participants were not particularly motivated to learn the skills of the implementation process, for they believed that their home districts had little interest in utilizing such skills. Several of the districts viewed the Project teachers as responsible only for diffusing the curricula used in the Project; for this task the implementation model as a whole was irrelevant. Some districts didn't seem to care what their Project teachers did upon completion of the Project. In short, the motivation level was low in some cases. (Not all problems can be attributed to the sending district; as we indicated in Chapter III a few of the Project teachers weren't particularly energetic themselves.)

The Project itself came to recognize that teachers hadn't fully mastered the skills of the implementation process. This recognition was instrumental in the design of the 1970 summer workshops, which forced Project teachers to become actively involved in using the implementation model. It was also involved in the belated publication of the Curriculum Analysis *Handbook* and in *Points of Discovery*; these documents were designed to help people use the admittedly complicated skills of the implementation process. Because these developments occurred late in the Project, we were unable to assess their effects upon the participants' ability to utilize the implementation model.

Change in Curriculum Decision-Making Structures

One of the hoped-for outcomes of the Implementation Project was alteration of prevailing patterns of curriculum decision-making in participating schools and districts. The initial Project proposal painted a dismal picture of existing practice--administrator domination, teacher isolation, inadequate information gathering and information processing, and, in general, a very unsophisticated and un-rational mode of operation. However, the proposal was very vague when it came to specifying the types of changes which were to be precipitated by the Project.

From the few cues presented in the Project proposal, and from staff comments, we have inferred that the objective was to induce curriculum decision-making structures in which teachers (with administrator participation but without administrator domination) worked together (rather than autonomously) using the implementation strategy exemplified in the Project (rather than the familiar makeshift committees which browse through available materials in an unsystematic fashion). Presumably such structures could be instituted (a) through direct administrative action within participating schools and districts, or (b) indirectly through "promotion" of Project-trained personnel to administrative positions (from which they could then institute the desired changes), or (c) both.

Performance Data

Our major indicator of Project effects upon curriculum decision-making structures came from interviews with Project teachers. We asked them to (1) describe the patterns of curriculum decision-making used in their schools, and (2) to indicate whether they felt the pattern had changed during the Project. We found the following:

1. Respondents from the ten secondary schools in field stations #1 and #3 indicated that four of the schools were moving toward, or already exemplified, the type of decision-making structure endorsed by the Project. For example, one respondent commented as follows:

> Prior to my participation in the Project, the social studies department made the decisions; but those decisions were left essentially to the individual choices of teachers. I think as a result of my being in the Project there is a greater awareness of the responsibility the department has to choose good materials and to give some attention to skill objectives that we're concerned with in this project. Now I think we're in a period of transition in decision-making in our department. Whereas before we were reluctant to violate the individual's right to do exactly what he pleased in the classroom, now as a department we're more concerned with meeting certain stated departmental objectives, namely inquiry and value analysis. So some of the decision-making which was purely individual prior to my participation in the Project is more collective. But still all the decision-making is within the department itself.
>
> --Interview, Field Station #3, Spring, 1970

In four other schools respondents indicated that curriculum decision-making was either highly autocratic or highly idiosyncratic. Respondents from two schools produced answers that were impossible to interpret (e.g., one teacher, who was also a department chairman in his school, claimed that he himself "dictated" the curriculum; however, since he was from a very small school it appears that there was no one to whom he could dictate!)

2. Respondents from the six elementary schools in field station #2 indicated that three of the schools already exemplified, or were moving toward, the decision-making model utilized in the Project. In two other schools decision-making appears to have been entirely in the hands of individual teachers. In the sixth district our respondent reported as follows:

> Generally what happens is that they passed out a bunch of textbooks. (Q: "They" meaning. . .?) Oh, the curriculum coordinator passes out textbooks in a certain area. The teachers look at the textbooks and decide which one they'd

> like. Then they send back word and he takes the majority opinion. (Q: Has this decision-making process changed at all since you've been in the Project?) We are trying to change it. It's just a matter of getting going. As I said before, it takes a while to get (the curriculum coordinator) moving. He has a bad habit of procrastinating. You just have to keep after him. We thought for sure we'd get quite a bit accomplished this year, but unfortunately we didn't.
>
> --Interview, Field Station #2, Spring, 1970

In summary, approximately half of the participating schools, according to our respondents, exhibit some major elements of the curriculum decision-making pattern advocated by the Implementation Project. At first glance, this is an encouraging finding. However, our data also indicate that most of the schools which were moving toward the desired decision-making model were favorably disposed toward such a model before the inception of the Implementation Project. Thus, while the Project undoubtedly facilitated changes in decision structures in some schools, it certainly did not cause them. We found very little evidence that the Project brought about structural changes in schools which did not, of their own volition, seek such changes. Since approximately half of the participating schools exhibited few or none of the desired elements of curriculum decision-making structures, and since there is no evidence that the Project was changing the structure in these schools, we conclude that the Project had a rather low level of success in this area.

Despite the general failure of the Project to effect immediate changes in the decision-making structure of the participating schools, there is reason to expect that the desired changes may yet emerge as a consequence of the Project. We have four bits of evidence to support this expectation:

1. Earlier in this chapter we indicated that Project participants were knowledgeable and enthused about the implementation model. Thus, if Project alumni are moving into administrative positions, it seems likely

that they will try to utilize the implementation model. In order to ascertain whether alumni are moving into administrative positions, we contacted the twenty-four teachers who had left the Project by fall, 1969. Fifteen of these teachers responded to our questionnaire. Of these, four had left teaching (two to non-teaching jobs, one to motherhood, and one to graduate study), and six reported no increase in their curriculum decision-making responsibilities since leaving the Project. However, five reported that their responsibilities as curriculum decision-makers had increased. Two of the five had become department chairmen and three had become involved in district curriculum committees. All five felt that the Project had been at least partially responsible for their role changes. All five were enthusiastic about the Project.

2. Administrators--usually principals--in the Project schools were asked to respond to the question "After the Project is over, what do you see as the role of the Project teacher in your school?" Although only one of our twenty-two respondents cited concrete role changes that were planned, nearly all respondents said that they visualized their ex-Project teachers as resource personnel for other faculty, prospective leaders for inservice training, and leaders in curriculum development efforts. A follow-up study after the conclusion of the Project would ascertain the extent to which such hopes materialize. However, it is encouraging to note that administrators at least acknowledge the view that Project teachers should not revert to conventional classroom teacher roles.
3. Project teachers were also asked to predict their roles upon termination of the Project. Three-fourths of our respondents indicated that they hoped and/or expected to influence other teachers. Some of these teachers said their influence would be limited to continued diffusion of the new curricula utilized in the Project; others said they wanted to assume roles involving

the continuing revision and development of curricula. Although the teachers were as vague as their administrators about future roles, the fact that both administrators and teachers sought expanded decision-making roles for Project alumni suggests that such roles will be devised. At the very least then, the Project raised expectations; once raised, such expectations are difficult to disregard.

4. Nearly three dozen advanced graduate students at Washington University became intimately acquainted with the Implementation Project. Most of these students are destined for leadership roles in the educational enterprise. While we have no data on their opinions of the Project, we think it likely that many of them will utilize some elements of the implementation model in their future careers.

In summary, we think it likely that some Project alumni will sooner or later move into leadership roles from which they can utilize the implementation model.

Assessment

The Implementation Project has thus far shown itself more effective as a training device than as a vehicle for inducing change in the decision-making structures of schools. Four closely related factors account for the Project's overall failure to induce immediate structural change. First, the Project was a political weakling vis-à-vis participating schools; the Project had few of the power resources which are usually necessary in efforts to cause change in existing structures. The Project was in many respects a service agency, highly dependent upon the good will of the participating districts. The only potential power of the Project lay in its ability to exemplify an attractive and effective pattern of curriculum decision-making. But this potential power was never realized because of a second factor: the Project's general failure to involve school administrators. This non-involvement meant that administrators (a) were unaware of the decision-making structure advocated by the Project, or (b) perceived the Project as a threat to their own power or to established decision-making structures. Our interviews with administrators in Project schools incline us toward alternative (a); when we asked administrators to identify their own perceptions of Project goals, virtually no one indicated that the Project was interested in changing decision-making structures. Thus the Project not only failed to incorporate the resources needed for change; it also failed to convince a major reference group that change was sought. Third, other goals took precedence: Project survival, dissemination of materials, training of teachers. Fourth, most of the central staff members, and virtually all of the field station personnel, simply weren't acquainted with the problems and strategies of securing organizational change. Project personnel tended to be specialists in curriculum and instruction rather than specialists in organizational development; budget reductions made it impossible to employ specialists of both types. Given all these defects, the Project could hardly be expected to induce major change in school curriculum decision-making structures.

Introduction of New Social Studies Curricula

The initial Project design specified that in the fourth stage of the implementation process (diffusion phase) new social studies curricula would be introduced in the classrooms of the radial school teachers who participated in the field stations. Diffusion of this scope will hereafter be considered as "Level I" diffusion. As we indicated in Chapter IV, the Project was not content with Level I diffusion alone. The Project also took upon itself the task of diffusing the new curricula to non-Project teachers in the Project schools. "Level II" diffusion refers to Project curricula utilized by non-Project teachers in the school buildings which also housed Project teachers. Suppose, for example, that two of the five social studies teachers from Junior High School X participated in a field station. Level I diffusion then refers to the new curricula used by the two Project teachers in their own classrooms; Level II diffusion refers to the use of new curricula by any other teachers in the building. Level III diffusion refers to the use of Project curricula in school buildings which (a) are in a Project district, but (b) have no Project teachers. In the hypothetical district cited above, for example, the introduction of Project curricula in Junior High School Y would represent Level III diffusion.

Performance Data

Level I diffusion was 100% successful. That is, all field station teachers who were in a field station during the scheduled diffusion phase did utilize new social studies curricula in their classrooms. In some cases, particularly in field station #2, diffusion to the radial schools occurred ahead of schedule because the pilot and diffusion phases were consolidated. Our data indicate that during 1969-70 the 9 teachers in field station #1 were teaching Project curricula in 25 classrooms; the 11 teachers in field station #2 were teaching

Project curricula in 13 classrooms; and the 10 teachers in field station #3 were teaching Project curricula in 21 classrooms. (The lower rate in field station #2 is consequence of the fact that this was an elementary field station, where the teachers typically meet only one class; teachers in field stations #1 and #3 meet 2-3 classes daily.) Assuming 30 students per class, we conclude that during 1969-70 nearly 1800 students were being exposed to new social studies curricula taught by field station members.

The evaluation staff was unable to measure the intensity or the effectiveness of Level I diffusion in the radial schools. However, we do know that the intensity of utilization varied from teacher to teacher, due to differences in availability of materials, differences in interest in Project materials, and differences in curricular flexibility permitted within various classrooms. In every case at least one major curricular unit was used by each teacher; in most cases several units were utilized. The effectiveness of utilization must have varied widely, due to differences in teacher competence, differences in participation in the analysis, development, and pilot phases, and differences in student capabilities. However, because the Project failed to develop evaluation instruments, we cannot report systematically about the distribution or scale of differences in effectiveness.

In order to discover the extent of dissemination at Levels II and III, a survey was taken in April and May 1970 of curriculum materials used during 1969-70 and of those planned for use in 1970-71 by the teachers in all schools in participating districts (except in field station #4 and in the City of St. Louis). The survey included principals, department heads, and/or teachers in each school. Diffusion was judged to have occurred whenever a teacher used at least one unit of the new curriculum materials utilized by field station personnel. Data for 1970-71 are based on projections. The data is undoubtedly conservative, for we have assumed that new teachers (i.e., those to be employed for 1970-71) would be non-users even though, in many cases, they were replacing users. To facilitate comparisons, diffusion index was calculated for each school for each year; the index reveals the proportion of teachers in a given building (at the appropriate grade level) who are using the materials; here too our data errs on the conservative side, for many of the people considered as potential users of the new curricula were teaching courses (e.g., Psychology) for which the Project offered little help. Data on Level II diffusion is presented in Tables 8, 9, and 10. Level III data, which is available only for field stations #1 and #2, is shown in Tables 11 and 12. (Utilization of the tables to compare field station performance is unwarranted, for the Tables ignore such factors as the duration of the field station and the size of the participating schools--both of which are important determinants of diffusion rates.)

Table 8. LEVEL II DIFFUSION: FIELD STATION #1 (Secondary)[a]

		1969-70			1970-71[c]		
District	School	Potential Users[d]	Actual Users[d]	D.I.[b]	Potential Users[d]	Actual Users[d]	D.I.[b]
Lind	HS	29	18	.62	27	20	.74
Hazel	HS	26	6	.23	23	14	.61
Luth	HS	8	2	.25	7	2	.29
Park	Cent	13	1	.17	10	6	.60
Park	North	15	7	.47	9	7	.78
Cham	HS	4	2	.50	5	0	.00
Rit	HS	27	8	.30	27	11	.41
Rit	RJHS	8	4	.50	8	5	.62
Rit	HJHS	16	1	.06	16	1	.06
	Totals	146	49	.32	132	66	.50

[a] Level II diffusion refers to the use of Project curricula in school buildings which house present and former field station members (May 1970).

[b] D.I.: Diffusion Index is the ratio of actual users to potential users.

[c] Data for 1970-71 are based on predictions made late in the spring, 1970.

[d] A potential user or an actual user is any social studies teacher in the building, at an appropriate grade level.

Table 9. LEVEL II DIFFUSION: FIELD STATION #2 (Elementary)[a]

District	School	1969-70			1970-71[c]		
		Potential Users[d]	Actual Users[d]	D.I.[b]	Potential Users[d]	Actual Users[d]	D.I.[b]
Brent	Fraz	6	6	1.00	6	6	1.00
Kin	Dun	5	2	.40	5	1	.20
Kirk	Houg	8	5	.62	8	8	1.00
Kirk	Robin	8	4	.50	8	6	.75
Lad	Reed	6	2	.33	6	6	1.00
Lad	Spoe	13	4	.31	13	13	1.00
Rock	West	12	3	.25	12	6	.50
Rock	Woer	12	4	.33	12	6	.50
U Cit	Sixth	12	5	.42	12	3	.25
U Cit	Flyn	9	3	.33	9	2	.22
U Cit	Pers	7	2	.29	7	2	.29
	Totals	98	40	.41	98	59	.60

[a] Level II diffusion refers to the use of Project curricula in school buildings which house present and former field station members (May 1970).

[b] D.I.: Diffusion Index is the ratio of actual users to potential users

[c] Data for 1970-71 are based on predictions made late in the spring, 1970

[d] A potential user or an actual user is any social studies teacher in the building, at an appropriate grade level.

Table 10. LEVEL II DIFFUSION: FIELD STATION #3 (Secondary)[a]

District	School	1969-70 Potential Users[d]	1969-70 Actual Users[d]	1969-70 D.I.[b]	1970-71[c] Potential Users[d]	1970-71[c] Actual Users[d]	1970-71[c] D.I.[b]
Webs	HS	16	6	.37	13	9	.69
Afft	HS	10	9	.90	7	6	.87
Hanc	HS	6	2	.33	7	4	.57
MRH	HS	9	6	.67	9	7	.78
UP	HS	4	3	.75	2	2	1.00
	Totals	45	26	.59	38	28	.74

[a] Level II diffusion refers to the use of Project curricula in school buildings which house present and former field station members (May 1970).
[b] D.I.: Diffusion Index is the ratio of actual users to potential users
[c] Data for 1970-71 are based on predictions made late in the spring, 1970
[d] A potential user or an actual user is any social studies teacher in the building, at an appropriate grade level.

Table 11. LEVEL III DIFFUSION: FIELD STATION #1 (Secondary)[a]

District	School	1969-70 Potential Users[d]	1969-70 Actual Users[d]	1969-70 D.I.[b]	1970-71[c] Potential Users[d]	1970-71[c] Actual Users[d]	1970-71[c] D.I.[b]
Hazel	JHS	6	3	.50	6	3	.50
Park	West	11	2	.22	11	1	.09
Park	SJHH	11	6	.55	9	5	.56
Park	CJHS	10	3	.30	10	4	.40
Park	WJHS	3	1	.33	3	1	.33
	Totals	41	15	.37	39	14	.36

[a] Level III diffusion refers to the use of Project curricula in school buildings which do not house Project teachers, but are in the same district as buildings which do include field station teachers.
[b] D.I.: Diffusion Index is the ratio of actual users to potential users.
[c] Data for 1970-71 are based on predictions made late in the spring, 1970.
[d] A potential user or an actual user is any social studies teacher in the building, at an appropriate grade level.

Table 12. LEVEL III DIFFUSION: FIELD STATION #2 (Elementary)[a]

		1969-70			1970-71[c]		
District	School	Potential Users[d]	Actual Users[d]	D.I.[b]	Potential Users[d]	Actual Users[d]	D.I.[b]
Brent	Mark	6	4	.67	6	4	.67
Brent	McG	6	4	.67	6	4	.67
Kin	Kin	6	0	.00	6	0	.00
Kirk	DP	7	1	.14	7	2	.29
Kirk	Keys	10	1	.10	10	5	.50
Kirk	Clen	10	6	.60	10	6	.60
Kirk	Osage	6	1	.17	6	1	.17
Kirk	Pit	7	4	.58	7	7	1.00
Kirk	Rose	10	3	.30	10	10	1.00
Kirk	Till	11	8	.73	11	8	.73
Kirk	Turner	6	1	.17	6	1	.17
Kirk	West	8	2	.25	8	3	.37
Ladue	Cent	6	0	.00	6	6	1.00
Ladue	Con	9	2	.22	9	9	1.00
Ladue	Diel	7	0	.00	7	7	1.00
Ladue	Grand	3	0	.00	3	3	1.00
Ladue	Hill	5	2	.40	5	5	1.00
Ladue	Old	6	0	.00	6	6	1.00
Ladue	Price	4	1	.25	4	4	1.00
Ladue	Wright	9	0	.00	9	9	1.00
Rock	Ball	9	0	.00	9	0	.00
Rock	Bowl	5	0	.00	5	0	.00
Rock	Chest	3	0	.00	3	0	.00
Rock	Ellis	11	0	.00	11	0	.00

Table 12. (Continued)

District	School	1969-70 Potential Users[d]	1969-70 Actual Users[d]	1969-70 D.I.[b]	1970-71[c] Potential Users[d]	1970-71[c] Actual Users[d]	1970-71[c] D.I.[b]
Rock	Eur	9	1	.11	9	1	.11
Rock	Gegg	6	2	.33	6	2	.33
Rock	Pond	5	0	.00	5	1	.20
Rock	Vand	5	0	.00	5	0	.00
U City	Black	6	2	.33	6	0	.00
U City	Boone	6	0	.00	6	5	.83
U City	D-H	7	0	.00	7	2	.29
U City	Green	4	1	.25	4	3	.75
U City	J-P	11	1	.09	11	0	.00
U City	McK	5	1	.20	5	2	.40
U City	Haw	7	1	.14	7	3	.43
U City	U-F	4	0	.00	4	2	.50
	Totals	245	49	.20	245	121	.49

[a] Level III diffusion refers to the use of Project curricula in school buildings which do not house Project teachers, but are in the same district as buildings which do include field station teachers.

[b] D.I.: Diffusion Index is the ratio of actual users to potential users.

[c] Data for 1970-71 are based on predictions made late in the spring, 1970.

[d] A potential user or an actual user is any social studies teacher in the building, at an appropriate grade level.

Perusal of these tables reveals a number of highly gratifying Project outcomes. The first and most obvious outcome is that the materials which were utilized in the field stations were also used in large numbers of classrooms both in and out of the Project-teacher schools. (We did not collect or report data on use of Project materaisl outside the Project districts of each field station, although we know that such utilization did occur.) In

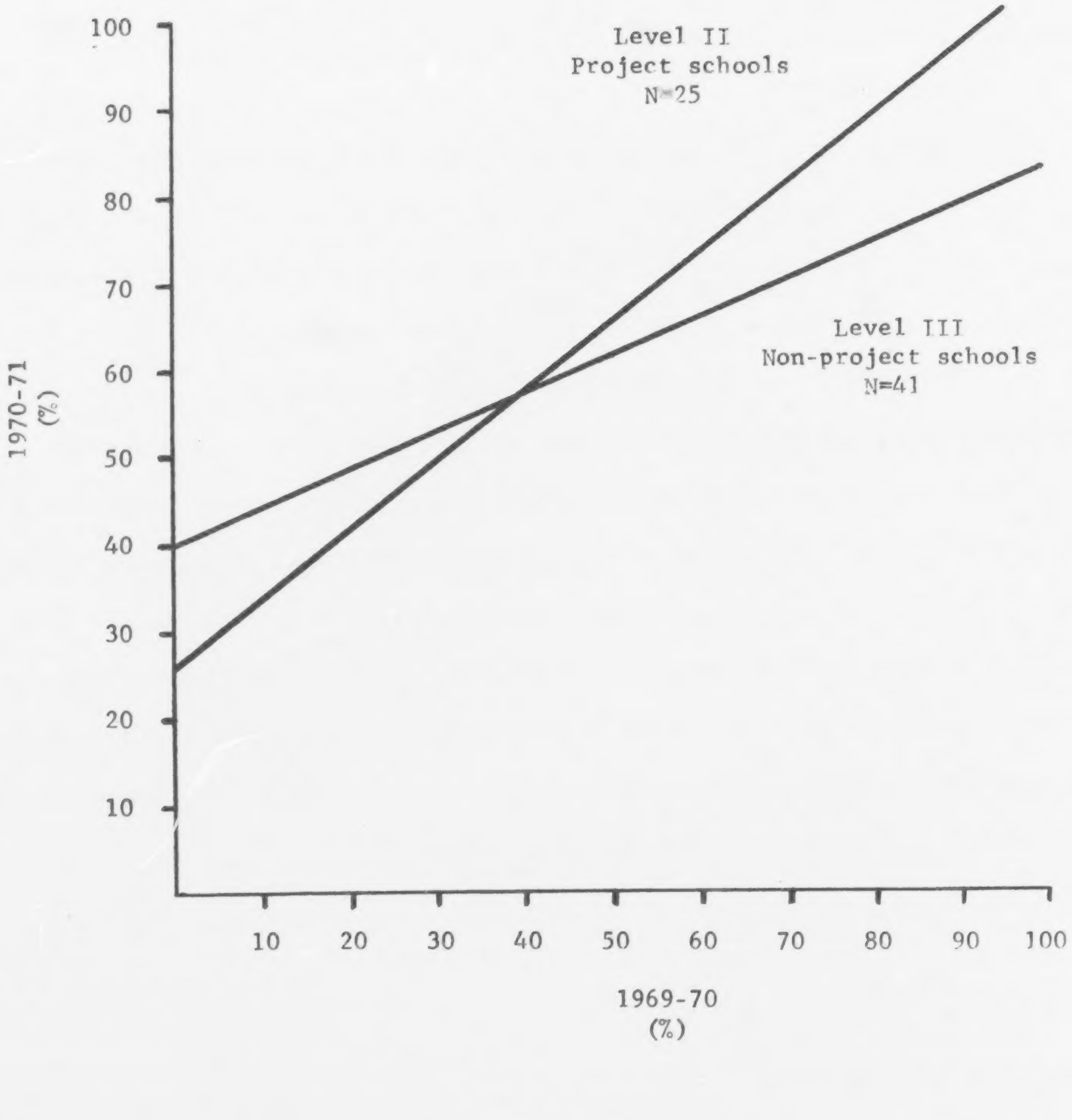
1969-70, for example, there were only 32 teachers participating in field stations #1, #2 and #3 (see page 24), yet 179 teachers were using Project materials. In 1970-71 the projected number of users jumps to 327. Thus the Project's efforts to diffuse materials beyond the field station teachers (see Chapter IV) obviously succeeded.

A second finding bears upon the persistence of disseminated materials. Of the 66 schools reported, only 7 reflected lower utilization of new materials in 1970-71 than in 1969-70. We regard this as a very important finding; it suggests that the new curricula are being installed rather than merely being tried out. Since a major objective underlying the Project's rationale was to assure installation rather than whimsical utilization of the new curricula, the persistence we observed is highly encouraging.

A third finding, illustrated in Table 13, is that the rate of increase in utilization of new curricula is higher in Project schools than in non-Project schools. Evidently there is a "proximity factor" at work; the buildings which have most contact with the Project (i.e., those buildings which house Project teachers) disseminate materials more rapidly than other buildings. There is nothing remarkable about this finding; it simply indicates that extraneous factors begin to affect adoption rates as one moves further away from the locus of implementation activities.

A fourth finding is that there are striking differences in dissemination patterns in different districts. In some districts virtually all schools showed sharp increases in both Level Two and Level Three dissemination. Other districts showed virtually no increase between 1969-70, and 1970-71. Still other districts were decentralized; in these cases some schools increased their utilization of Project materials between 1969-70 and 1970-71 while other schools in the same districts decreased their utilization. These inter-district differences

Table 13. Regression of 1970-71 Diffusion Index Scores on 1969-70 for Project Teacher and Non-Project Teacher Schools



in dissemination patterns are fully consistent with other data collected within the Project--data which indicated that some districts were much more eager to capitalize upon the benefits offered by the Project than other districts, which seemed to be participating in a somewhat disinterested manner. In different terms, factors inherent in the districts had an important effect upon Level Two and Level Three dissemination; the Implementation Project simply hadn't enough potency to overcome these inter-district differences.

Assessment

The foregoing findings are extremely gratifying. They show that the Implementation Project did succeed in introducing new social studies curricula not only in the classrooms of field station teachers but also in the classrooms of non-Project teachers both inside and outside the participants' own school buildings. The diffusion which we measured occurred in a fairly short period of time, particularly in view of the fact that the early months in each field station were not oriented to diffusion. Although we have no firm data on the point, our reading of the literature on diffusion rates strongly suggests that the rate of diffusion fostered by the Implementation Project was much higher than normal rates, even though diffusion was not the sole objective of the Project, or even its most important objective. In fact, we suspect that the diffusion rate was too high, i.e., that too many of the adopters utilized the the materials without sufficient prior analysis or training--a phenomenon the Project was explicitly intended to avoid.

Chapter VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

According to the Project proposal, the "Implementation Project may . . . provide other metropolitan areas with a model for curriculum revision, both in social studies and in other fields." In this chapter we briefly summarize the findings presented in the preceding chapters, and consider the significance of the Implementation Project as a model for future curriculum implementation efforts.

Summary of Findings

The Social Studies Implementation Project was devised as a response to two sets of problems which threatened to inhibit effective utilization of the new social studies curricula which were being developed around the country during the mid-1960's. One set of problems dealt with the curriculum projects themselves, e.g., their failure to provide plans for disseminating the new materials, their piecemeal nature, and their failure to provide clear data on objectives or effectiveness. A second set of problems focused in the reception systems of prospective adopters (schools and teachers) at the local level; typically these potential adopters hadn't the expertise, the time, or the decision-making structures which would assure that the new curricula were rationally implemented.

To solve these problems the Implementation Project proposed to establish in metropolitan St. Louis four inter-district "field stations." Each field station was to include two teachers from each of five to seven area school systems, plus a coordinator (typically university-based) who was to work with, and to train, the field station members in the techniques of curriculum implementation. These techniques were to be applied through a four phase process: (1) analysis of new curricula, (2) development or adaptation of one or two curricula, (3) pilot (trial) of the new curriculum in one of the field station schools (the pilot school), and (4) diffusion of the new curriculum to the other schools participating in the field station. The four-phase cycle was to be completed over a three year period for any specified grade level. The Project's designers anticipated that by the end of the Project a limited number of new social studies curricula would have been disseminated into area schools, and that project alumni would have been trained to assume important decision-making roles from which they could direct subsequent implementation of the new curricula.

In order to facilitate evaluation of the Implementation Project, three distinct sets of objectives were identified. The first set of objectives focused upon the establishment of the field stations themselves. We inquired into the Project's success in securing five sets of inputs essential to the field stations. They were (1) institutional membership by metropolitan school districts, (2) individual membership by teachers from the participating schools, (3) central staff, (4) materials and services, and (5) financial support. The second set of objectives focused upon the field stations' efforts to execute the four-phase implementation process: analysis, development, pilot, and diffusion. The third set of objectives concerned Project outcomes--teachers who had mastered and accepted the implementation model, alterations in existing decision-making structures which would facilitate continued systematic implementation of the new social studies curricula, and actual utilization of new curricula in area schools.

Our findings are summarized below:

A. Establishment of the Field Stations

1. Institutional members -- As initially planned, four field stations were created. Membership within each field station usually was within the range sought (five to seven schools). Most member schools remained in the Project throughout the period studied. Membership was open to all. Geographic

clustering was achieved. District wealth was not a factor which limited participation. Interest on the part of participating schools appears to have been high in most cases.

2. Individual members -- The Project fell somewhat short of its goal of obtaining long-term participation by pairs of teachers from each participating school. Among sixty-five teachers who participated, only twenty-three remained with a field station for its duration. Twenty-six participated in the Project for one year or less. Half of the participating districts were sometimes or always represented by only one teacher. Effective liaison with school administrative personnel was not developed until the Project was well-established. Within these limitations, the majority of individual members in the Project appeared to be competent and committed to the Project's goals and procedures.

3. Central staff - A Coordinator for each field station was employed. However the Project Director's position and external evaluation positions were vacant during the first half-year of the Project. The internal evaluation position was never filled. The roles of central staff members were initially unclear; clarification developed as the Project progressed. The field station coordinator is a significant new role in education.

4. Materials, services, and facilities -- Curriculum materials were readily available. Continuing problems were encountered in the production of instructional materials; duplication facilities were inadequate to meet the Project's demands for instructional materials. Consultant services were utilized sparingly. Adequate facilities were available through the participating schools, CEMREL, and Washington University.

5. Financial support -- Bureaucratic red tape, externally-imposed budget reductions, and uncertainties about continued Project funding had pervasive and unsettling effects throughout the Project.

B. Conduct of the Implementation Process

1. Analysis phase--All field stations performed the analysis phase. In this phase the participants attempted to answer the questions "what is worthwhile in the area of social studies instruction?" and "what are the intentions of each of several new curricula?" To answer the first question each station sought to discover or to devise a "rationale" for social studies curriculum; in two of the four stations the rationales remained implicit until late in the Project, while a third station adopted an existing rationale found in one of the new curriculum projects, and a fourth station developed its own rationale within the scheduled analysis phase. Hence the rationales played a less central role in the analysis phase than the Project design recommended. Using their rationales (such as they were), each field station analyzed several new curricula, in order that one or more of them could be selected for development, piloting, and dissemination. This curriculum analysis process was supposed to be conducted with the help of a Curriculum Analysis Handbook which set forth the crucial questions to be addressed to any curriculum. However, since the Handbook did not appear until after completion of the scheduled analysis phase, field station members had to proceed with rough outlines, or to devise their own questions. As a consequence of this and other problems, the scheduled sequence of curriculum selection decisions fell further and further behind. Despite these deviations from the initial design of the analysis phase, we found that field station members attached great value to this phase, and that they did in fact carry out its elements, albeit less systematically than originally intended.

2. Development phase -- All field stations carried out development activities. In this phase participants trained themselves, or were trained by others, in some of the teaching strategies required by the new curricula which had been selected for development. In addition materials were revised or created so as to make them applicable to the classrooms of participating schools. In several cases

far more development work was undertaken than could reasonably be completed within the scheduled development period (summers); as a result development activities fell behind schedule and other scheduled activities had to be slighted. Among the neglected activities was one--the design of evaluation techniques to assess the effectiveness of the new curricula--which had been deemed crucial in the original project design. Despite these problems however, the Project eventually produced large quantities of curriculum materials which were suitable for direct utilization in classrooms.

3. Pilot phase--All field stations engaged in pilot activities, i.e., actual trial of the developed materials in a classroom setting. In one of the field stations the pilot was conducted as originally planned--in the classrooms of one of the schools participating in the field station, under the observation of other members of the field station. However, in the other field stations piloting occurred in several of the participating schools, often in conjunction with the development phase. In two of the field stations, in fact, the development and pilot phases were consolidated, thus shortening the total implementation cycle from three years to two. Two features initially assigned to the pilot phase were largely ignored: evaluation of the effectiveness of materials, and systematic critiquing of teaching among members of the field stations. Nonetheless, it appears that the pilot activities did contribute to effective utilization of the new curricula.

4. Diffusion phase--The diffusion phase of the Implementation Project initially was characterized by a considerable amount of goal confusion. As initially conceived, the goal of the diffusion phase appears to have been limited to the diffusion of the new curricula utilized within the Project to the classrooms of the field station teachers. In addition, the initial plan appears to have assumed that Project teachers would, after the conclusion of the Project, function as curriculum change agents in their own schools, using

the implementation process in which they had been trained. However, for a variety of reasons the Project attempted to foster the diffusion of the new curricula used in the Project beyond the classrooms of the Project teachers, and it attempted to utilize Project teachers as change agents prior to the conclusion of the Project. Thus, the Project went beyond its initial goals in the diffusion phase. This phase also was characterized by some highly effective activities which had not been initially envisioned: operation of summer training programs for non-Project teachers, production and publication of materials designed to help others utilize the implementation process, and assistance to participating schools which were attempting to spread the use of Project curricula.

C. Outcomes

1. Participants' mastery and acceptance of the implementation process -- Most participants expressed a high degree of enthusiasm for the implementation process utilized in the Project. They felt that it was a good way to achieve systematic implementation of new social studies curricula. At the same time the participants expressed considerable skepticism that the implementation model was entirely feasible; some of the skepticism focused on the ability of participants to carry out the model, but most skepticism centered on the willingness of school districts to provide the necessary administrative and financial support for operation of the implementation process within conventional school settings.

We found it impossible to secure any valid measures of participant mastery of the skills required by the implementation model. Two important sets of skills definitely were not acquired: techniques for evaluating the effectiveness of new curricula, and techniques for observing, analyzing, and critiquing teacher performance while using the new curricula. Participants probably cannot develop tight rationales for curriculum implementation in their districts; however, most project teachers are probably capable of carrying out the curriculum analysis process, especially now that the Handbook is available. Certainly all teachers are now familiar with a number of new curricula which previously were unknown to them. Participants have experienced the process of developing and adapting curriculum materials in a much more systematic fashion than usual. A high proportion of the teachers--at least three-fourths of them--have had experience in working with their peers to (a) disseminate the new curricula used in the Project, or (b) utilize all or several phases of the implementation model, or (c) both.

2. Changes in curriculum decision-making structures -- Near the end of the Project, approximately half of the participating schools exemplified several features of the type of curriculum decision-making structure advocated by the Project. However, it appears that the Project's influence was to facilitate the sorts of changes that participating schools already desired; the Project does not appear to have had the power resources necessary to compel participating districts to adopt the preferred decision-making structure in the absence of interest on the part of the districts.

It is really too early to measure the Project's effects upon decision-making structures. We collected several bits of evidence that indicated that Project alumni are likely to have significant impact upon decision-making structures in the future. This prediction is based on the facts that Project personnel often were selected for their potential leadership ability, that Project personnel were enthused about the implementation model, and that movement by some Project alumni into leadership positions is already evident. As the skills of Project alumni are recognized, and as they move into more influential roles, they are likely to utilize the know-how and the strategies that they acquired in the Project.

3. Dissemination of new social studies curricula -- The Project achieved its initial goal of curriculum dissemination; all field station teachers who were in a field station during the scheduled diffusion phase did utilize new social studies curricula in their classrooms. In many cases this diffusion occurred ahead of schedule. Moreover, the Project went far beyond its initial goal by disseminating materials into many non-Project classrooms both in and out of Project schools. Our data indicate that at least 179 teachers were using Project materials during 1969-70, and nearly twice that number are scheduled to use Project materials during 1970-71. Moreover, the materials apparently are being installed, rather than merely tried out. However, firm data on the long term persistence of Project curricula must await another study.

Problems and Recommendations

Although the Implementation Project is rated an overall success, it did encounter a number of problems. Subsequent versions of the Project could minimize or eliminate these problems by modifying the Project design or by altering procedures. Here we briefly review some of the more serious problems which were evident during the St. Louis experience, and suggest some possible avenues for ameliorating the problems.

1. Interdistrict differences

The initial Project design made only one concession to interdistrict differences: less wealthy districts were to be paid a higher proportion of the costs of released time for teachers than the wealthy districts were to be paid. However, as the Project proceeded it quickly became apparent that several other interdistrict differences were of consequence. School district size, for example, set immediate limits upon the implementation process. The smallest schools could not manage to send two teachers to a field station, for often such schools do not have two teachers at any given grade level. Hence, these districts lost whatever benefits that may have come from pairings of field station personnel. Moreover, representatives from small districts had vastly different problems in the diffusion phase than did representatives from large districts. In the case of larger districts, the Project was simply too small to make much of a difference. In the huge St. Louis School District, for example, diffusion was virtually hopeless. Administrator attitudes toward the Project and toward social studies curriculum reform greatly affected the Project. These attitudes shaped the calibre of the teachers who were selected to participate in the Project, and it affected the level of administrative support or non-support which was essential to dissemination of the new curriculum materials. Community attitudes affected the willingness of local schools to engage in curriculum revision, particularly when sensitive issues were involved. The characteristics of local school decision-making structures also appeared to affect the Project; the Project's ability to have an impact on a school differed according to whether the existing structure was highly centralized or highly decentralized.

Future projects can compensate for such differences in a number of ways. For example, representation to field stations might be based on district size; very large districts could probably support their own field stations. Variations in administrator attitudes could be controlled by a more careful and thorough effort to involve administrators, to train them, and to keep them fully informed. Differences in district attitudes and structures can be treated as a variable to be considered by project participants as they train themselves to operate the implementation process. That is, field station teachers need to learn the skills of diagnosing organizational structures, and they need to become aware of a variety of diffusion strategies.

2. Teacher differences

Teacher differences, like school district differences, were underestimated in the Project design. The implementation process was repeatedly distorted or thwarted by differences in teacher knowledge about their subject-matter, differences in teacher commitment to the Project, differences in ability to function in a group setting, and differences in the organizational constraints under which they operated in their home schools.

In future projects, field station coordinators are going to have to be more skilled at identifying such differences, and they are going to have to be able to individualize the rate and style at which individual teachers proceed through the implementation process. This, in turn, is going to require heavier investments in the salaries of field station coordinators, for they are going to have to have the time to work individually not only with members of their field stations, but also with the administrators in each district or school which participates in the field station.

3. Administrative liaison

The Implementation Project was repeatedly confounded by lack of support on the part of administrators in local schools. This problem became especially serious during the diffusion phase of the implementation process. The problem was not altogether the fault of the administrators in the schools. During the first half of the Title III funding period, the Project staff simply failed to make adequate contact with administrators, to win them over to the rationale and the objectives of the Project, to show them what kind of support was needed, and to involve them in project activities. The Project failed to do this partly because it was short-handed at the central staff level, partly because it never decided just who was to be responsible for administrator liaison, and partly because Project participants failed to appreciate, until too late, the cruciality of the administrator in securing change. In addition to these failures, the Project was inherently threatening to many administrators, for they had little knowledge of it, it offered possibilities for disturbing community relations, and in some cases it seemed to challenge the viability or the adequacy of existing administrative procedures and positions.

Subsequent versions of the implementation project should greatly amplify their efforts to secure and retain administrator support, not only at the level of central administration but also at the level of the building principal and department or grade level chairmen. Such support is going to require a great deal of time investment on the part of both project teachers and project staff. Special meetings for administrators must be planned, and regular communication channels must be established.

4. Goal ambiguity

The goals of the implementation project were not fully clear to all participants or reference groups. Some viewed the project as a curriculum development effort. Others viewed it as a chance to learn how to use one or two new curricula. Others viewed it as an opportunity to learn the skills of curriculum implementation. Each view lent a different perspective to the Project and each was consequential in terms of what participants or sponsors thought important. These differences, in turn, intruded upon the field station process, and led to endless discussions and innumerable misunderstandings as to what was important and what was not.

Our own understanding of the Project is that it is primarily a device for teaching teachers the skills and insights necessary to prepare them to assume positions of leadership in the introduction of new curricula in schools. The Project was not intended to become only a curriculum materials development project, though it sometimes resembled one. Nor was it intended merely as a device for teachers or schools to gain access to a particular new curriculum in which they were interested; surely there are less costly ways to secure access to a known and desired curriculum. We think it important that participants, clients, and funding agencies have a clear and consistent idea of what a Project of this sort is intended to do and what it is not intended to do.

5. Role strain

Field station personnel, including coordinators and master teachers, were simultaneously inventing and executing roles for which there were virtually no precedents in education, let alone precedents in their own experiences. Under these circumstances, anxiety is high. However the anxiety and strain were heightened even further because of the inter-organizational character of the Project; participants were responsible not only to the Project and to each other, but also to a wide array of "back home" reference groups. For example, the matter of released time was a source of great difficulty for some of the participants: their school colleagues sometimes thought that Project participants had a pretty easy time of things, teaching only 2-3 classes a day and often out of the building; such perceptions were embarrassing, aggravating, and extremely difficult to correct. Within the field stations there were also great strains, particularly around the task of critiquing each other's teaching--a task which was eventually abandoned.

Role strain can be an exceedingly effective and productive phenomenon, and it often was in the Project. However, it can also be disfunctional, and sometimes it was. To prevent or minimize disfunctional manifestations of role strain, it is important that each field station contain individuals--preferably the coordinators--who are skilled in the observation and analysis of group procedures and communications, and who can help individuals cope with particular role problems which they are encountering.

6. Inadequate conceptual tools

As we indicated in Chapter IV, the Project was repeatedly frustrated by the unavailability of the tools which were needed to do the job; often the tools had to be created, or the job had to be modified or ignored. For example, the Curriculum Analysis Handbook wasn't available until after the analysis phase was completed. Techniques for the analysis of lessons and for the management of critique sessions weren't available, and hence this part of the implementation model was compromised. Techniques for curriculum evaluation were not available; hence this part of the process was also sacrificed.

Some of these technical deficiencies were remedied during the Project. A Handbook now exists, and it should help future projects of this sort. The Points of Discovery book will, until it is outdated, provide an overview of the many national curriculum projects, and it will provide insights into the teaching strategies which must be learned if some of the new curricula are to be implemented. Other areas, particularly curriculum evaluation and lesson critiquing, are still in a primitive state.

7. Administrative complexity

There were enormous administrative complexities built into the Implementation Project. The Project operated as an "interorganization" made up of pieces of existing organizations; such creations have inherent problems of coordination and influence. Moreover the interorganization was a new one, thereby creating the problems which usually afflict situations where personalities and problems are unknown but critical. The newness problem kept recurring, due to turnover in the field stations and in the central staff. Another administrative problem stemmed from the funding pattern, which was erratic, untimely, and undependable. Together, such problems produced a situation which was aptly described as an "administrative nightmare" by one of the Project Directors. Most of the problems are unavoidable consequences of the Project structure and process.

However, the problems are now predictable, and administrators of future Projects of this type at least will have the benefit of knowing what faces them.

Another administrative problem stemmed from the multitude of skills expected of the coordinators. There were to be curriculum experts, group leaders, evaluators, supervisors, politicians, and human relations experts. Few individuals possess such a broad range of skills; certainly none of the Project personnel were competent in all areas. Thus future projects probably should be prepared to central staff specialists who can be called upon by coordinators as needed.

8. Defects in the design of the implementation process

Three major--but not fatal--defects in the design of the implementation process became evident during the lift of the Project. The first and most serious of these stemmed from the assumption that all the members of a field station had to devise a single rationale, select a curriculum consistent with that rationale, develop and try out that curriculum, and then diffuse it to the radial schools. This assumption is consistent with the view that the Project was a device to train teachers how to use the implementation process. However, it is incompatible with the assumption that the curriculum implementation process must, at all stages, take into account the characteristics which are unique to different schools and communities. Each field station was composed of teachers representing widely divergent schools and communities, yet all the teachers in each field station were expected to adopt the same rationale, to work with the same curricula, to teach the same lessons, and to apply the same criteria of decision-making. The dilemma was never fully appreciated or resolved during the Project. However, it appears to us that some participants operated primarily with the first assumption, and thereby created difficulties for themselves during the diffusion phase. Others opted for the second assumption, thereby complicating their lives during the analysis, development, and pilot phases.

The simplest way to eliminate this dilemma would be to limit field stations to single districts. However, this would be possible only in large districts, and it still leaves a good deal of school and community heterogeneity within a field station. A less simple but more effective solution would be to have each member of a field station develop his own rationale (perhaps in conjunction with a committee of other teachers in his home school), conduct his own pilot and development phases, and devise his own evaluation strategy. Such individualization within the field station would require increased staff resources, and perhaps smaller field stations, but it would also lead to greater effectiveness.

A second design defect was the failure to recognize that teachers without children are like fish out of water. Teachers simply don't function very well without children. It is the children who provide the ultimate reality-test. A logically superb lesson or curriculum which doesn't come across to the children is, in the eyes of the teacher, seriously flawed. On the other hand, a new strategy or topic which excites and interests the children is, almost by definition, good. Such behaviors were repeatedly evident in our observations in the field stations. Regardless of what was done in the analysis and development phases, teachers were not willing to really accept a new curriculum until it had been tried out and until the children's responses were known. It was this need to have first-hand evidence which had much to do with the introduction of classroom settings into the summer development sessions, and with the acceleration of the pilot phase in the field stations. Future implementation projects should probably abandon the idea that the analysis and development phases can be conducted in isolation from the classroom setting. Thus, it may be desirable to actually see demonstration lessons using new curricula, rather than relying solely on inspection of new materials. Similarly, it is probably wise to consolidate the development and pilot phases. We believe that such adaptation would strengthen the implementation process.

A third design defect lay in the assumption that a single group of teachers in a field station could conduct the implementation process for three or even four grade levels. The assumption was flawed in two ways. First, it required too much of a given individual. For example, by the third year, members of one field station were developing a curriculum at one grade level, piloting a curriculum at another grade level, and diffusing a curriculum at still another grade level. Each task is difficult; collectively they are impossible. A second problem is that many teachers have special talents or interests which suit them for one grade level but not the next. Yet the logic of the initial design required each field station teacher to teach at three grade levels. These two difficulties played a major part, we think, in the high rate of turnover among project personnel and in the falling-behind-schedule that flawed the development and pilot phases. One remedy would be to reconstitute field stations at each grade level, even though this would require repeating the analysis phase for each grade level. An alternate solution would be to start a new grade level each two or three years, instead of annually. Still another alternative would be to constitute a field station from several grade levels--perhaps from a single district. Members would learn the analysis process together, and develop a common rationale; thereafter they would proceed separately at each grade level.

What Next?

Our task has been diagnosis, not prognosis. Nonetheless, it seems appropriate to reflect briefly upon the long term impact of the Implementation Project.

In our view, the Project was a successful field trial of a new type of structure (the field station) and a new type of activity (the implementation process). The Project was successful as a field trial because it (a) confirmed that the field station structure and the implementation process, which previously existed only as ideas, can be put into practice and can achieve outcomes which roughly conform to those which were anticipated; (b) suggested clarifications and modifications of parts of the initial design for the field stations and the implementation process; and (c) added to the store of ideas and techniques which are needed to expedite future efforts of a related nature.

The appropriate thing to do at the conclusion of a field trial is to dismantle the apparatus, revise the design in light of the knowledge gleaned from the trial and in light of any new social conditions which may have emerged, and then establish a new trial or even a demonstration. It is not appropriate to make the continuation of a field trial a criterion for judging the success of the field trial. Despite the inappropriateness, we fear that this criterion may be applied to the Implementation Project.[1] In part this will happen because of the natural reluctance of participants to see their hard-won creation vanish. It will also happen because Title III legislation (under which the Project was partially funded) assumes that continuation is indicative of success. Finally, it will happen because the Project, from its inception, has been miscast as a demonstration rather than a field trial; it seems logical that demonstrations should be continued or copied. However, as most participants seemed to recognize, the field station structure and implementation project were not sufficiently developed to warrant demonstration. Visitors would have imposed an unmanageable burden upon the Project, and funds for continuation beyond the federal funding period simply were not available. In short, the Project should never have been construed as a demonstration, and it rarely functioned as one.

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[1] At one point the evaluation staff itself accepted continuation as a legitimate criterion of success; later we rejected this idea.

Having said all this, we predict that the Project will be continued in some fashion. Many of the individuals who participated in the Project found it personally and professionally gratifying and productive; these individuals will doubtlessly seek ways to sustain the Project in some modified form. In addition, the initial problems to which the Project was addressed still persist. An implementation project, or something like it, is still needed, not only in the social sciences, but also in other curricular areas. Finally, we think that the Project will persist in some form because it succeeded in training a large number of capable individuals to function as curriculum implementors; over the years these people are likely to move into positions of leadership from which they can apply the things that they learned in the Implementation Project.